

# SOCIAL FORCES

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# SOCIAL FORCES

October, 1935

## NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT TRENDS IN FARM POPULATION

REXFORD G. TUGWELL

*Department of Agriculture*

THE farm population of this country, like the soldiery of the old world, has consistently been dealt short rations and long eulogies. It used to be the fashion, perhaps still is in some places, for every speech before a farm audience to begin and end with the ringing declaration, "Agriculture is the backbone of the nation." Unhappily, this declaration has been made so many times, and in tones so oratorical, that some of the ring seems to have gone out of it. The taste for it, as for so many other platitudes, is not what it used to be. The appetite for honeyed words seems definitely less acute, these days, than the demand for the action the words suggest.

There always was a tragic discrepancy between some of the more common platitudes and actual farm conditions. Pleasant remarks about the advantages of fresh country air and sunshine never could fully hide the fact of cruelly long hours and short pay; of an economic arrangement by which farmers sold in a free market but bought in a protected one; of agriculture as the ever reliable shock absorber for the industrial unemployed; of the existence, and the menacing spread, of rural slums. Against the weight of accumu-

lated platitudes, these facts until recently could make little headway.

To students of population it is a familiar fact that farm families bear and rear a large proportion of the children who will replenish the human resources of the nation. Throughout the whole nineteenth century the ratio of children to women of childbearing age was at least 50 per cent higher in rural communities than in places with 25,000 or more inhabitants. Nevertheless, during all this period and up to 1930, farm population consistently declined in proportion to urban population. The explanation, of course, lay in the constant stream of migrants from farm to city, mostly young people at the threshold of economic productivity.

In 1930, about 21 per cent of all women of childbearing age were living on farms, yet from this 21 per cent, during the years 1925 to 1929, came 29 per cent of the nation's children. A nation properly concerned about its human resources, it might be assumed, would insist that the group which produced so high a proportion of its future citizens, must have a correspondingly high proportion of the nation's income. Apparently the United States has not been so concerned. During

the years 1925 through 1929, the farm population received about *one-tenth* of the nation's income, comprised about *two-tenths* of the women at reproductive ages, and nurtured about *three-tenths* of the nation's children.

The difference between rural and urban groups in reproductive trends can be summarized in this way: Rural farm women during the five-year period, 1925-1929, bore about 50 per cent more children than would have been sufficient for the mere replacement of their own group; the women living in villages bore about 25 per cent more than this replacement quota; but the women in smaller cities had eight per cent fewer, and those living in larger cities had about 20 per cent fewer children than would have been sufficient to replace their own group. There were eleven and a half million rural women as compared with eighteen million urban women; but the rural women bore more than half the nation's children.

During the lush days of the 'twenties, the movement of young people from farms to villages and cities maintained a sort of crude balance between these differential reproduction trends and the changing demands of agriculture and urban industry. The net migration from farms to cities and villages from 1920 to 1930, amounted to over 6,000,000 persons, most of them young. Of the youngsters between 15 and 20 years of age living on farms in 1920, four out of every ten had moved away by 1930.<sup>1</sup>

The cost of nurturing this army of young people to replenish the adult population of villages and cities has been enormous. Dr. O. E. Baker has estimated that "If it costs \$2,000 to \$2,500 (at pre-depression prices) to rear and educate the average child on American farms to the age of 15,

<sup>1</sup> Frank Lorimer and Frederick Osborn. *Dynamics of Population*, Macmillan, 1935, p. 369.

when he may be assumed to be self-supporting,—and \$150 a year does not seem an excessive estimate of the cost of food, clothing, medical services, education, and all the incidental expenses—then the net migration from the farms during the decade 1920-30 represents a contribution of about \$15,000,000,000." This contribution is greater than the total gross farm income of the United States for any one of those years.

This contribution, of course, varied greatly among different farm communities, being least in the Northeastern and Pacific Coast States, and greatest in North Carolina, West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, North Dakota, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico.

On the basis of individual counties, rather than entire states, we find the highest fertility, the largest proportionate contribution to our national population, in the southern Appalachians, in certain counties in the Southwest with a large Mexican population, and in some of the most sparsely settled sections of the Mountain Division. These are the areas which we can count on as the surest sources of our population replacements, the source of an increasing proportion of our future citizens. Only in some of these southern Appalachian counties, in fact, is the birthrate still as high as it was in the nation as a whole in the year 1800.

I have seen a map so constructed as to show those counties in which more than 80 per cent of all farms, in prosperous 1929, had a total output of less than \$1,000 per farm. These counties are in the southern Appalachian area, in scattered sections through the old cotton belt, and in parts of New Mexico and Arizona. Areas with 70 to 80 per cent of all farms with total products below \$1,000 are found scattered more widely through the South and through northern Michigan and

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Minnesota—the cut-over region. Accordingly, the burden of making a large contribution to the future population of the nation now falls most heavily, with some important exceptions, on just those communities where incomes are lowest. Here, to a peculiar degree, are the areas of “the forgotten man.” And here are the homes, the communities, the total environment of the “forgotten youth” that will in some measure shape the future destiny of the nation.

I have been speaking of population trends before the depression. At present some three million people who would ordinarily have found work in cities and villages are backed up on farms. At least two-thirds of these are under 35 years of age. Movement to and from farms hung in balance in 1930; during 1931 and 1932 the tide definitely turned back towards the farm; but in 1933, and again in 1934, there was apparently a slight net movement from farms to towns.

There have been periods when so great an increase of labor on the farm might have been welcome, but this has hardly been true during the depression. The effective demand for farm products has been less than the normal output of the workers already on farms. The recent increase of young adults in farming communities simply added to the rural burden. Moreover, the recent increase in agricultural workers has usually been heaviest in regions with the poorest natural resources and with the lowest levels of farm family living.

There is preliminary evidence of this in early returns from the 1935 Census of Agriculture. The data now available for changes in the number of farms between 1930 and 1935 show the heaviest increases in suburban areas with part-time subsistence farms (though part of this increase may be fictitious, resulting from more

complete reporting for places of this type in 1935), and in areas of very limited natural resources. In southern Appalachian counties the increases in number of farms from 1930 to 1935 have run around 30 per cent and in some cases as high as 50 per cent. Local conditions affect these figures, but in general the increase in farm population during the depression has been highest in areas of low agricultural productivity.<sup>2</sup>

The problems relating to the southern Appalachian area are not radically different from problems relating to many less picturesque agricultural areas with limited natural resources, scattered through many states. This region has been the subject of an unusually intensive study carried out by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Bureau of Home Economics, and the Forest Service in cooperation with the Office of Education, and the Department of the Interior, and the agricultural experiment stations of Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. The principal field studies were made in 1930 and 1931, and the final report published this winter. In the introductory chapter of this final report, “population pressure” is designated as the “basic problem” in this region. The authors, in discussing possible procedures, suggest:

In some parts of the region it will be possible to mitigate population pressure through the introduction of new industries or other adjustments in eco-

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Carter Goodrich, in his recent studies of migration, has illustrated this principle in some detail, showing, for example, that when rural counties in Michigan are grouped by a “plane of living index,” the predepression migration was heaviest from the poorest counties and lightest from the most prosperous counties, but that during the depression years the movement has been heaviest into the poorest areas. And Mr. Osborn has shown that effective fertility was highest in the counties with the lowest ratings on Mr. Goodrich’s plane of living index and lowest in the most prosperous counties.

nomic organization. To a considerable extent, however, the fundamental alleviation of the conditions of life can be achieved only by removing some of the population from localities in which economic opportunities are too limited to provide a good family living to localities in which these families can supplement earnings from the farm with employment in forests or industry, or to areas where a more adequate livelihood can be obtained from farming. . . . The establishment of farm-forest communities should be planned with a view to providing adequate educational opportunities and accessibility to large centers of population. . . . Poverty and isolation appear to be the chief barriers to more extensive spontaneous migration of the population. It appears reasonable to assume, therefore, that with improved standards of living, increased accessibility, more external contacts, and better educational preparation for various types of economic pursuits, increasing numbers of the population will seek their livelihood outside of the region.

There can be little doubt about the fundamental soundness of these suggestions, made by careful students who are intimately familiar with the problems discussed. The carrying out of such a program, however, is obviously difficult and can only be developed in relation to other changes in national life and with the utmost care for all the human values immediately concerned.

A few years ago there was much discussion about the character and qualifications of the immigrants who were coming in large numbers into American life, especially into American cities. Much of what was said about these immigrants was grossly unfair, but the discussion showed a proper concern about the background of the peoples who were being built into the fabric of our national life. Inasmuch as the population of American cities is no longer self-replacing and in fact is already far below the permanent replacement level, movement toward cities and villages may be expected with the return of greater industrial activity; but the new immigrants to American cities will no longer come chiefly from overseas but rather from

our own farms and small villages. Will well-equipped young men and young women from progressive farming communities, well-nourished, well-educated, and with high standards of work and cultural interests predominate among these "new immigrants" to American cities? Or must we expect that the very communities likely to constitute the principal sources for replenishing the future population of the nation will drift toward lower standards of living, sending out a stream of young people easily exploited and poorly equipped for urban living?

If nothing is done to modify the existing situation, it is quite obvious that the "new immigrants" from farm to city will be anything but well-equipped, well-nourished, or well-educated, and that, on the contrary, the very communities from which they come will drift toward lower and lower standards of living. We shall then see in operation, as Lorimer and Osborn have pointed out, this sort of vicious circle: retarded economic and cultural development which involves excessive fertility, and an excessive fertility which tends to retard economic and cultural development. This depressing downward spiral must be broken into somewhere if we are to escape its consequences.

These consequences are already evident in certain regions, notably in the southern Appalachians. Here the profound social and economic problem of the whole South is intensified. An appreciation of this fact ought to make us wary of offhand criticism of southern conditions, and of casual proposals to fix things up during the next convenient week-end.

The high proportion of children in the population requires greater outlays for education, yet these outlays must come from regions whose natural resources and economic opportunities have never been

high. Rupert B. Vance, in his *Human Geography of the South*, observes that, while the South possesses 1034 children under 15 years of age for every 1000 adults, the North has only 782, and the Pacific Coast 599. Mr. Vance writes:

Granted equal resources, the educational task per adult would remain much greater in the South. It is the farming environment which conditions a high birth rate, and a large majority of these children are on the farm. Moreover, the low density of an agricultural society operates to make the educational task more formidable. Eleven southern states, possessing one-fourth of the nation's population, have and must educate one-half of the nation's farm children.

For the same number of adults the cultural task of education is much greater in the South. Moreover, the low density of population attendant upon an agricultural society increases still further the regional differences. . . . Under this regional process aided by the restriction of foreign immigration, the South is in the position of rearing and educating, however imperfectly, the labor reserves for the rest of the nation. To low standards already existing will increasingly be added the enforced mobility characteristic of populations which have outstripped their resource structure. The alternative lies in the adjustment of a decreasing rate of population growth to an increasing utilization of regional resources.<sup>3</sup>

I have quoted this at some length because it so ably summarizes the whole problem. The understanding of population trends is, in the first place, indispensable to an understanding of the total economic and social problem of America. Its significance is inescapably nationwide, of concern to city quite as much as to country. And a program of action, born of these facts, must just as certainly be constructed on a regional basis and out of materials existing in the region and peculiar to it.

It would be incorrect to leave the impression that this maladjustment of population to resources exists only in the South. It is quite as acute in scattered communities in

some of the old agricultural or timber areas in New England, in the Middle Atlantic States, and in the East North Central States. And of course I am not including non-agricultural maladjustments in the list.

Whatever the precise estimate may be as to the future population of the United States, there is at least general agreement that the period of rapid natural increase is nearly over, that we are gradually approaching equilibrium, and that within the total group extremely diverse forces are at work. If we wish, we can continue to permit those of least means and opportunity to provide a larger and larger proportion of our population, but it would strike me as somewhat more sensible to undertake the enlargement of both the means and the opportunities of this highly important group. Certainly the potential power and influence of the excessively fertile group must not be underestimated. Lorimer and Osborn have noted that some large groups in the United States are now reproducing so rapidly and other large groups are reproducing at so low a rate, that the surviving children from an equal number of women of childbearing age in the first groups will be twice as numerous as the surviving children in those groups whose reproductive rate is low. If this differential continues for three generations, the descendants of the first group would be 16 times as numerous as the descendants of the second group.

We do not need to wait until three generations have come and gone to realize what this would mean. The process goes on today, under our noses, and has much to do with innumerable contemporary problems. If nothing is done to provide our underprivileged but highly fertile groups with economic opportunities, we know that the future citizenry of America will include progressively larger propor-

<sup>3</sup> *Human Geography of the South*, University of North Carolina Press, 1932, pp. 480-81.

tions of poorly equipped human beings—individuals who have never had a chance, economically or culturally, individuals totally incapable of adjusting themselves to the requirements of an increasingly complex civilization. I have never believed, and I refuse to believe now, that the people of America wish to sit idly by while this sort of trend proceeds along its tragic way.

Yet it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the dominant forces in American life in the decade following the World War were set unconsciously, unintentionally, in the direction of undermining the economic independence of our agricultural population—with consequent impoverishment of the only group in America still characterized by a tendency toward effective reproduction. The Agricultural Adjustment program, imperfect as it may be, is an attempt, the first serious attempt, to meet the fundamental issues in this situation.

Recognizing the peculiar vulnerability of agriculture in our economic system, traceable to the relatively inelastic demand for agricultural products, and recognizing the special importance of a healthy, prosperous agricultural population in the developing life of the nation, one of the first principles in our national economy should be the safe-guarding of the conditions of rural life. In view of the limited demand for agricultural products, some limitation of agricultural production is essential to the practical realization of this ideal. This is coming to be generally recognized. The further corollary, however, although logically inevitable, is less generally recognized. If individual agricultural workers are to operate at a high level of productivity, if at the same time agricultural production is to be limited to the effective demand for agricultural products, there must be a very

appreciable reduction in the proportion of American workers engaged in commercial agriculture—preferably by the gradual transference of some farm laborers and tenants who are now operating at a low level of productivity, with low incomes, and some farm operators who are working on submarginal lands, into at least part-time production of goods and services for which there is a more elastic demand. Part of these goods and services may be directed toward retaining the population remaining in agriculture, resulting in better housing for rural families, better schools for rural children, more nurses, doctors, telephones, books, and clothes, and more adequate diets both for farm families and for city families. (The hope for the future expansion of American industry lies in a rise in the standards of living of the whole American people. One phase of this development must be continued increase in the productivity of the individual farm worker, combined with some control of total agricultural output. If this involves fewer commercial farmers, it still does not mean that the traditional advantages to families and to the nation of rural surroundings cannot be kept and even enlarged.)

But this line of development for agriculture can only be worked out step by step as other lines of productive activity are developed and expanded. It would be rash to encourage a large number of people to move away immediately from submarginal land during a period of depression when there was no effective demand for their employment elsewhere. Conversely, any attempt to establish people permanently in new communities must be based on some assurance of an adequate economic basis. A sound agricultural program, a sound program for the use of our natural resources, and a sound program of industrial development cannot be estab-



lished in a day after a period of misdirected efforts ending in a great national disaster. But the importance of acting in accordance with well formulated long-range plans is becoming increasingly apparent.

Perhaps the really dangerous radical is the person who insists that nothing must be done about the maladjustment of population to resources. If he has his way, the complexion of our population would change significantly, and for the worse. The consequences for democracy, for economic security, for the preservation of civil liberties, I leave to your imagination.

The vicious circle to which I referred earlier can be broken, but it will take time, enormous effort, and all the intelligence

and humanity of which Americans are capable. The goal is nothing less than that of raising the standards of living in those areas where population already presses hard upon resources. The methods chosen to accomplish this end will have to be as various as the areas themselves and the people living there. At this time, certainly, no one can be dogmatic about how best to proceed, or unduly optimistic about the probable rate of progress. He can only keep at the task persistently, patiently, and as wisely as possible, always conscious of American ways of effecting fundamental changes, and always clinging to a characteristically American faith in his fellowman.

## RURAL EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN RELATION TO NEW TRENDS IN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

F. W. REEVES

*Tennessee Valley Authority*

**B**EFORE one can determine the solution to rural education problems, it is necessary to speculate on present and future trends in population. The flow of population was from rural areas to urban centers prior to 1929 or 1930, with a reversal of that trend from 1929 or 1930 to 1933 or 1934, and a change back again in the direction of the original long-time movement from rural areas to urban centers during recent months. What will future trends be? I know of no time when it has been more important to have correct information concerning population movements and trends than at present. It is also true that there are so many conflicting factors now operating to affect trends that it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to predict with any degree of accuracy what will happen during the next twenty-five years.

The complexity of the problem may be illustrated by mentioning only a few of these factors. With a rapidly decreasing birth rate among both rural and urban populations, and a continued excess of rural births over urban births, there arises a question as to the advisability of adopting a policy of subsidizing the populations of rural areas through state and federal funds for health, education, and other governmental functions, and for various forms of insurance and other security measures, as a means of checking a declining national birth rate. Such a policy, if adopted, might well have a marked effect upon population trends. Furthermore, if urban centers should be encouraged to devise means of making urban life more conducive to rearing children through lower living costs, greater economic security, and the development of

recreational facilities, trends would also be affected. Possibly a change in philosophy may be brought about with reference to the relative values of a home life with children, such as can be secured in suburban and semi-rural areas where living costs are low, as contrasted with the opportunities for individual advancement and financial rewards, such as can be secured in urban centers.

Improved transportation facilities will continue to have a direct influence upon urban, suburban, and rural developments. The development of rural and suburban electrification with the lowering of rural rates, together with improved transportation may result in the decentralization of industry in some localities, with an accompanying trend in population toward small cities and suburbs of larger cities, and in some parts of the country, possibly, towards farms and villages. On the other hand, the increased use of machinery on the farms may result in people moving from the farms to other communities, probably to urban centers or suburban areas.

Many national policies now in process of formulation may also affect this problem. To what extent will submarginal lands be removed from production, or devoted to the production of other commodities? What methods will be employed in rehabilitating the present residents of such lands? Much depends on the degree to which America, large regions within America, communities, and individual families, adopt a policy of self-containment, accompanied by a smaller percentage of human energy expended in transportation, marketing and exchange, and a larger percentage expended in production. Last, and possibly more important than any other factor, is the extent of the development of national, regional, state, and community social

and economic planning through governmental agencies. The possible effects of planning upon future population trends must not be overlooked.

With so many factors involved, many of them dependent upon human judgments and decisions yet unmade, it would take more wisdom than I possess to attempt to forecast the population pattern of the United States twenty-five or thirty years hence. Yet some thought must be given to this problem, and at least a few basic assumptions must be made, if a satisfactory educational program is to be planned for rural areas. I shall make five such assumptions. The first four of these assumptions are based in part upon past and present trends. The fifth assumption may represent wishful thinking on my part since I can cite no statistical evidence to support it. I base this assumption upon logic rather than upon an analysis of available statistics. In presenting these assumptions and discussing their implications, it should be understood that I am expressing my own personal point of view and not speaking for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

First, whether or not the urban population increases in the future, the urban birth rate will probably not be adequate to maintain the population that will reside in cities. Consequently, some flow of population from rural to urban centers may be expected. Dr. O. E. Baker has pointed out that according to the census of 1930, the number of children under five years of age in the large cities lacked about 20 per cent of being sufficient to maintain a stationary population permanently, without migration from rural areas or immigration from foreign lands. In the smaller cities there was a deficit of about 6 per cent. On the other hand, in the village and suburban population there was a surplus of children of 30 per

cent and in the farm population, a surplus of 50 per cent.

Second, I shall assume that the population in metropolitan areas outside of city corporation limits will increase during this period, due primarily to migration from farms to industrial suburban areas and to a birth rate more than adequate to maintain a static population. I would also expect some interchange of population between cities and their suburbs. Two types of suburbs are being developed—residential developments for city workers and industrial-agricultural developments for families having one or more workers engaged in industry working short hours, with the family maintaining gardens for the purpose of raising a part of their food supply. Suburban residents have many of the advantages of the city, but with lower living costs and better opportunities to maintain a family with children. The improvement of transportation facilities and the increased availability of cheap electric power point in the direction of an increase in such developments.

Third, I shall assume that there will be some increase in the demand for agricultural products due (1) to a small increase in total population; (2) to better methods of distribution to the consuming public, with the result that people's needs can be more nearly met; and (3) to the increased use of agricultural products as raw materials for the use of industry. I do not believe, however, that this increased use of agricultural products will result in a larger number of workers engaged in full-time farm activities. It appears probable that increased use of electric power on the farm, and the development of new types of machinery for large scale farm operations may result in an increase in basic farm products, while at the same time there will actually

be a decrease in the number of workers engaged full-time in farming. Since the birth rate on farms is likely to remain higher than necessary to maintain a static population, this will mean a continued migration from farms to cities and to other areas of industrial development.

My fourth assumption is that large areas of submarginal land now used for producing small grains, corn, and cotton, will be taken out of production insofar as their present use is concerned. In the semi-arid regions of the West they will be returned to grazing, and in parts of the South some will be used for grazing and some will be reforested. This move will be necessary as a means of controlling soil erosion. These lands will still support a small population of scattered homes, since some labor will be needed to care for the stock or the forests and to utilize their products. Only a limited population, however, can be supported on these lands, and since the birth rate among these families may be expected to exceed the number necessary for a static population, a constant flow of population from these regions to metropolitan centers may be expected.

My fifth and last assumption is that there will be some increase in semi-rural industrial developments, even though trends for the country as a whole do not now appear to point definitely in that direction. In some parts of America, notably in the South, however, many villages and small cities have developed during recent years around one or more industries that have seen certain advantages in locating in rural agricultural communities, where they can secure their labor from the farms. With the further improvement of transportation and the availability of electric current in rural areas at much lower rates, this movement may gain momentum and spread to other

parts of the country, since industries of some types may find it advisable to establish themselves near the sources of raw materials. With the great advances that are now being made in organic chemistry, I should expect the raw materials used by industry to come more and more from the relatively inexhaustible products of the land.

In summary, I anticipate a continued movement from rural areas to metropolitan and industrial centers. Rural education must be prepared to serve those remaining in the rural areas, as well as those moving on to urban and suburban centers.

#### FINANCING RURAL EDUCATION

The support of education in the past has been considered largely a local function. When one considers that it costs several thousand dollars to rear and educate a child to the age of 18 or 20, and that the investment is lost to the rural areas when the child migrates to urban centers, it becomes clear that rural areas, with their lower revenues per child, are carrying an excessive proportion of the cost of education.

For national welfare a major part of the support for education must come from state and federal sources. Funds should be raised where the income is, and be expended where those to be educated reside. Supporting rural education in this manner does not constitute a subsidy, since a large part of the funds are actually expended in training future citizens of urban areas.

The need for national support of education is made clear by a study of the enormous inequalities among states in their ability to support schools. Even in normal times the twelve richest states were three times as able to meet their educational obligations as were the twelve

poorest states. In one state a tax of \$10 on every \$1000 of property produces a revenue of \$58 per child. In another state it produces \$457 per child, almost ten times as much. Income per child of school age on earnings in 1930 ranged from \$4299 in one state to only \$930 in another. School expenditure per child in average daily attendance ranged from \$191.87 in one state to only \$34.52 in another. Not only do inequalities of this kind exist among states, but frequently even greater inequalities exist among local school districts within the same state. The only means of procuring anything approaching equality is through increased federal and state support. The United States cannot afford to have education advanced in one part of the country, and backward in another. Ignorance at any point, however remote, is a source of danger. True, the federal government has been granting aid to education since 1785, when the Confederation of States set aside lands for schools. Later acts of Congress granted aid through a matching of state and federal funds. This must now be changed because it again penalizes the states with low rates of income per child of school age, whereas the states with high rates of income per child of school age can secure a larger proportion of federal funds because they have the state funds available with which to match federal funds.

Our national economic security depends on people being sufficiently well trained to fit in with the constantly changing economic world. With inadequate rural educational systems, and a large number of the people trained in these systems migrating to urban centers, the standard of living in the cities is materially lowered. These people are not prepared to make the adjustments necessary in industrial centers. In order to survive they

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must work for such wages as they can secure. In times of unemployment they are dependent on the relief agencies. Some succeed but many do not. Often this is not because of lack of ability, but because of lack of the right kind of educational opportunity in the rural communities from which they came.

Moreover, with less funds available for education, present rural schools are more expensive to operate than are larger units. The most expensive schools in America today are the one-room rural schools and small rural high schools. This is true when consideration is given to the quality of the education provided for the pupils. A study of the cost of operating consolidated schools as compared to the one-room rural schools shows that consolidation almost always results in better schools, and frequently results in schools at a lower cost. Wherever possible, school consolidation should be effected. In some areas school consolidation is not possible because of a lack of good roads, but as roads are constructed and transportation facilities become available there should be no delay in effecting school consolidation. School districts must be made larger not only to decrease administrative costs, but also to make for more effective administration. Where roads are poor and families too widely scattered, the use of traveling teachers and correspondence lessons will be useful. In some places it may be advisable to place children in dormitories for a part of the year. In some parts of the United States this plan has already been developed. For example, in South Dakota, where the relief load has been heavy due to the drouth, relief funds have been used to support children in dormitories in towns and villages. This is resulting in greatly increased high school enrollment and an extension of the period of school attendance for rural children.

In other words, a large measure of federal and state support for education is needed, but along with the provision of funds to carry on rural educational programs there must come a reorganization to provide more efficient administration and more education per dollar spent.

#### VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

The importance of vocational guidance in rural education has not been recognized to date. Many people migrate to cities who would undoubtedly have a richer and more successful life if they remained on the farm, where they would have greater opportunity for creative work. Many who have been reared on farms and are accustomed to out-of-doors work find it difficult to adjust themselves to the indoor, often routine work, in which they engage in a city. The opportunity for leadership, the challenge of the varied requirements of rural life, should be realized in determining whether a boy or a girl will remain on the farm or go to the city. Much leadership is lost to America through the migration of potential leaders from rural to urban centers, where the struggle to survive consumes all of their energy. Some do become leaders in urban centers but the large percentage do not. It is this quality and this ability which must be recognized early and guided in the right direction. Vocational guidance must be made a vital part of the rural educational program. Education is an individual matter. As it evolves that certain people are interested in specific vocations and fitted to be successful in them, their educational program should be directed to fit them for life as they will find it.

Vocational guidance should begin with the child and carry through life, and should always precede the planning of an educational program for a specific individual. The usual plan of having voca-

tional guidance toward the end of the high school period is not and never will be very effective. Life must be considered the unit, and not primary, secondary, and higher education.

#### EDUCATION FOR LIFE

The old idea of discipline through languages and mathematics still receives too great emphasis in our educational system. Too many teachers still seem to believe that if every child goes through the same set of subjects then each has an equal opportunity, and that general education for all will develop an educated citizenry capable of coping with problems as they arise. To be really effective, all education must be tied in closely with the life of the individual. To learn how to do one thing well does not make for good citizenship. Success in the future will depend largely on the diversity of ability of our people. A farmer will not be successful if he thinks of his farm as his property to do with as he sees fit, and that since he owns the land and does the work, it is of no concern to anyone else. The economic problems in farm management are innumerable. Local, state, national, and international policies and legislation indirectly affect each farmer. To meet competition it is necessary to keep up with progressive agricultural practices. On large farms there is virtually a cost accounting job to be done if the farmer is going to find out where he is making his profit and where he is losing. These and many other problems confront the farmer, in addition to his relationships within his own community. Not a narrow education but an education broad in its scope is needed in rural communities. Life on the farm calls for a never-ending educational program. An understanding of these problems, which are basic to our economic system, would also prepare for finding a

place in urban centers. Education such as this would constitute a basis for understanding and participating in life as it is and as it develops, and the opportunity for this type of education is more easily available in rural areas than in urban centers.

The school year is shorter in rural areas than in cities, because many children must help on the farm during the summer season. The school year should be extended, made an integral part of home life, and include people of all age groups. There should be a required minimum school attendance for youth, but participation in education by adults should be on a voluntary basis. Such a program would include not only general education and a recreation program, but agricultural education, home management, and skills useful in trades and industries, i.e., the program would balance heavily in favor of practical training. The school year would be lengthened but shorter hours would be spent in the classroom. A student can learn his manual training by practical application in building or repairing his home or barn, mechanical training by repairing machinery used on the farm or the family car, electrical training by fixing appliances in the home; homemaking by cooking and serving for the family, making useful things for the home, and planning the diet for the family. In this manner much of the work which necessitates a short school year can be made a part of the school program. Again, the teaching of agriculture in rural communities can be tied in with the work of raising a small vegetable garden, or applying scientific agricultural practices. Chemistry, mathematics, and natural science can be taught with specific application to the problems pupils encounter daily in their work. Their home and farm will become their laboratory.

An interesting project is now under way in the grade school at Norris, Tennessee, a town built by the Tennessee Valley Authority to serve both as a construction camp and a permanent community. The children have a coöperative garden project. To secure the capital with which to buy seed they issued bonds at 10¢ each, bearing a small interest rate. They planted the seed and are selling the plants to families in Norris. A hotbed and greenhouse were constructed. Stock is earned for a certain number of hours work in the gardens. In connection with this one project, it has been possible to teach arithmetic, manual training, natural science, and English. In arithmetic they must learn how to keep books on sales of bonds, purchase of seeds and fertilizer, sales of plants, earnings, interest to be paid on bonds, records of hours worked, shares of stock to be granted on the basis of hours worked, net earnings to be divided among stockholders, and many other problems. The children constructed their own greenhouse. Laboratory credit in natural science is granted for work in the garden. In addition, study and discussion of the problems encountered constitute a major part of the course in natural science. English is taught in connection with writing reports, advertising material, and preparing and learning how to deliver salesmanship talks. This type of training should have value for either rural or urban living.

While in this case the project is not one of the home but of the community, it is equally possible to set up a program centered around home activities, thus allowing the children to help at home and at the same time provide better educational facilities.

The general education and recreational program should center around the library. The programs of public libraries and schools

need to be closely correlated. This co-operation will make it possible to carry education on as a continuous process rather than as a series of units. It will also make it possible for people of different age groups to work together on the same courses of study where now adults hesitate to attend classes for elementary or high school children, even though they may be interested in the problems dealt with. Specialized study can be carried on by individuals through the library with whatever direction is needed. Under such a plan, a program much broader in its scope than that typically found can be developed.

Rural schools must train for self-containment. This type of training is particularly needed for those living in isolated forest and grazing areas, and those living in the smaller industrial centers where the family devotes part time to agriculture and part time to industry. To the extent that the latter group can be developed to include a relatively large percentage of our population, stability may come into the social order. It is interesting to note that in Tupelo, Mississippi, the first city to receive T. V. A. power, the plan of part-time work on the farm and part-time work in industry has been in effect for some time and has proved highly successful. The same might be said of Kingsport, Tennessee.

#### RURAL AND HIGHER EDUCATION

In discussing such an educational program it becomes evident that a different type of training is also needed for the teachers. Not only must the colleges prepare teachers for this rural educational program, but they must prepare their graduates for work in rural areas.

In my opinion the greatest opportunity that colleges have for increased service lies in the field of adult education. Fewer

and shorter working days and the increasing chances of occupational shifts throughout life combine with many other factors to make adult education vitally important. Colleges may expand into this field through an intensified program for a specific area as well as through a broad program for an unlimited area. The intensified program might well consist of vocational and general courses offered for credit and of vocational, general, and recreational courses or activities offered without credit to adults who cannot take resident work. Much of this non-credit work should be carried on by means of the radio and motion pictures. The Tennessee Valley Authority is conducting an educational program for its employees working on construction projects. One purpose of this program is to assist in maintaining high morale among employees. That part of the program most closely related to the adult education activities that colleges might well participate in and sponsor, lies in the field of general education.

A sound recreation program has a much broader scope than is ordinarily thought of as recreation. In the Muscle Shoals area, for example, an attempt is being made to tie the program in very definitely with the communities in that locality. There are 27 distinct communities where the workers live. The recreational leaders have organized recreation leaders institutes, the immediate aim of which is to train leaders in recreation. The ultimate aim is to build a nucleus of leaders in recreation in each community. The institutes are being organized by counties. One institute has a membership ranging in age from 17 to 54, representing 25 different occupations. On inquiry to determine what types of groups they would be interested in organizing or leading for recreational purposes, it was discovered that 27

different types of activities were represented. By types is meant churches, schools, Y. M. C. A.'s, etc. In setting up the program in this manner the volunteer assistance necessary to carry on the program in these 27 communities will be provided. Perhaps the best feature, however, is that there will be a self-perpetuating group in each community, and when the construction work in that area is completed, the program will not die out because of the withdrawal of the paid leadership.

The same men have organized classes in parent education under the sponsorship of the Parent Teachers Associations in that locality. They have also organized forums and discussion groups on a variety of topics. Library reading lists are prepared on the topics selected for discussion. The training program is carefully planned with the idea that when it is once developed the people now enrolled can provide leadership by offering similar classes later on. The class in parent education is studying the relationship between the parent and the child, and the physical aspects of child care. General emphasis is placed on what the parent can do in a practical way, with little or no expense, to further the play life of the child.

Most of the training programs in the Muscle Shoals area represent the type of non-credit work that colleges might well organize and conduct in specific areas. It is my belief that colleges should sponsor these non-credit activities for adults who are not regularly enrolled in the institution. In the Muscle Shoals area, the T. V. A. supplies the training staff who organize the activities, conduct leadership training institutes, and then gradually shift the responsibility for the activities to local leaders who have been trained in these institutes or who have been found to be trained already. Thus, after a



period the program can be sustained by the community with a minimum of effort from the training staff, or from a college staff if the college should sponsor such activities. After a program for one area has been developed, programs could be started in other areas. This procedure would provide for community control of most of the adult educational programs with the necessary initial aid given by the colleges. The community adult educational programs might well be set up administratively as a part of the public school systems. Classes, forums, panel discussions, lectures, and recreational activities would be held in the school buildings. The colleges would help develop the programs, provide trained leadership, and assist in developing local leadership.

The radio is probably the most valuable instrument in developing a rural adult education program of a broad nature for an area larger than a single community. Present educational radio programs are frequently criticized because the speakers, selected because of their specialization in subject matter fields, are unable to present the subject in terms and in a manner that will be effective with the mass of people. Commercial radio companies have indicated that they would be willing to give much more time than they now give to educational programs if educational institutions would present programs that are of real interest to the radio audience. It is clear that persons are needed for this work who are not only subject-matter specialists, but also masters at presenting the subject-matter to the listeners. Individuals with such qualifications are to be found but probably not in sufficient numbers for all institutions which should be engaged in adult education by means of the radio. Institutions that cannot find such individuals should have the subject-matter specialist prepare the materials

and then have an expert in radio presentation revise and present these materials to the radio audience.

Education by radio offers unlimited opportunities, but to be effective it must be able to compete with the commercial programs in holding the interest of the listeners.

The larger universities and colleges can well afford to consider making some contribution to adult education through the preparation of educational motion picture films. This phase of education has been successfully initiated by a few large institutions such as the University of Chicago. Other educational institutions should plan to begin such work. The possible use of educational films is being considerably increased as portable projectors are being used with increasing success. The Tennessee Valley Authority is having an interesting experience with a five reel film which was released for exhibition in December, 1934. This film presents the many phases of the Authority's program of interest to the general public. During the four months that it has been available for exhibition more than 100,000 people have seen it. It has been shown before groups of all age levels with favorable reception.

The educational possibilities in both fields, radio and motion pictures, are almost unlimited. The surface to date has merely been scratched. Far-sighted educational institutions are directing their efforts in this direction. Education by radio and films is not a dream of the future; it is a possibility that has already arrived.

With full coöperation from higher educational institutions the program sketched here can become a reality without large additions to teaching staffs. Teachers will need to be provided with transportation so they can visit their students on

their several projects, and general education will become much less formal than at present. The picture renews hope for an era of social and economic security.

#### SUMMARY

In summary, let me again stress the educational implications of population trends from rural areas to centers of industry. There is need for (a) increased federal and state support of education, the funds to be raised where the income is and expended where those to be educated

reside; (b) making vocational guidance a major function in education at all age levels; (c) extending the school year, shortening the school day, and linking the program closer to reality; and (d) co-operation from higher educational institutions in preparing teachers for such a program, and developing an adult education program which will train for leadership in rural communities through the use of extension work, the radio and moving pictures.

## SOUTHERN POPULATION AND SOCIAL PLANNING

T. J. WOOFER, JR.

*University of North Carolina*

**B**ASIC to many of the southern social and economic peculiarities and of fundamental significance in planning for the southeastern region is the fact that in the rural districts of this predominantly rural region there is a greater natural increase than in any other large segment of the national population. When the nation as a whole is adjusting to a population which is becoming stationary, the rural South continues to contribute vigorous increases.

This excess of population is reared in an area where agriculture has declined rather than advanced by reason of the shift of cotton westward, by reason of the boll weevil, by reason of the depletion of the soil, by erosion, and by reason of the decline of foreign markets. Up to 1910, there was a gradual expansion in land in farms in the Southeast. Since 1910, owing to the above reasons, it has decreased by 18 million acres. In 1910 the rural population of the South was about 16.5 million and in 1930 it was nearly 18,000,000. This increase of about a million and a half was largely in the rural non-farm group.

The population within the farm area has therefore remained stationary. The Negro farm population has actually declined. The excess natural increase has drained off to the cities. Many of those who remained were producing the minimum for subsistence. The per capita gross farm income in southeastern states in 1930 (with the exception of Florida) ranged from \$117 in Arkansas to \$172 in Virginia. In no other state in the country was it so low. The southwestern states were next lowest, but outside these two southern sections, the lowest state average was \$325, or nearly double the highest state average in the Southeast. Whether this phenomenon is viewed from the standpoint of laissez faire or from the standpoint of planning, it is fundamental in understanding the social and economic structure of the Southeast and of relation of the Southeast to other sections.

#### THE SITUATION BEFORE 1930

To describe the situation before 1930 more exactly: of the 7.5 million people in southern cities, many were in small cities

where the reproduction ratios were not as low as in metropolitan cities. The 17.8 million rural dwellers were divided into nearly 12.5 million white and 5.5 million Negro.

Contrary to the popular impression, it is not the Negro group which contributes most heavily to the high southern natural increase. Their birth rate is higher but their death rate is so much higher that the Negro crude rate of natural increase between 1920 and 1930 was about ten and the white crude rate about 15 per thousand in rural districts. This higher crude rate of the whites applied to a larger base meant a gross natural increase from 1920 of about 180,000 per year in the white rural element and about 75,000 a year in the Negro rural element, or a gross number of people produced for export to cities of about a quarter of a million annually.

A clearer understanding of the future implications of this increase is obtained from net replacement ratios measuring the ratio at which women of child bearing age replace themselves. According to Lorimer and Osborn, the net replacement ratio for the country as a whole is 1.08 or barely positive. For the South, the net replacement ratios ranged from 1.46 in Virginia to 1.57 in North Carolina. Florida, which is a part of the Southeast by geographical accident only, drops below these.

There is still another series of data which shows this pressure of population out from the Southeast. Of the native born population of the United States in 1930, twenty-eight million seven hundred thousand were born in the Southeast<sup>1</sup> of whom twenty-four million one hundred thousand were born in rural districts and four million six hundred thousand in

cities. Since only seventeen and one-half million of these Southeastern rural born live in the area of their birth, it is evident that over six and one-half million have moved elsewhere. Three million eight hundred thousand have left the section entirely. Two million nine hundred thousand have moved to southern cities.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the Southeast rural districts have exported about a fourth of their natural increase in population, supplying their own growth, a large proportion of growth of southern cities, and sending over three and one-half million to other sections.

There are a number of factors underlying these high rural rates which we do not need to enumerate here. Three stand out, however, and should be mentioned.

(1) The Appalachian and Ozark areas have perpetuated the mores of the frontier in isolated areas, and large families are traditional.

(2) Under the system by which cotton has been produced during the past half century, large surpluses of hand labor are required in the chopping and picking seasons. The set up has tended to encourage tenants to look to the women and young adults in their own family for this labor, hence a large family has been distinctly an economic asset.

(3) As yet, the birth rates in the rural non-farm group do not seem to have decreased to a marked extent. This is indicated by the Carolina Piedmont 1920-1930 crude rates of counties having large cotton mill populations. Some of these with their natural increases were: North Carolina—Lincoln, 24; Rutherford, 20;

<sup>2</sup> Four hundred thousand of the three million eight hundred thousand are compensated by the movement to southern rural districts from other sections, so that the net loss indicated above is three million four hundred thousand; also, the small exchange of population between southern cities and rural districts is disregarded in the above calculation.

<sup>1</sup> Includes Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana.

Cabarrus, 19; Gaston, 23; South Carolina—Cherokee, 15; Pickens, 21.

#### IMPLICATIONS

Some of the far reaching implications of this expanding population can be enumerated:

*First:* It upsets race relations and the balance of white and Negro in urban employment. Formerly in the South, there were jobs known as Negro jobs at which the white man would not work. These included barbers, waiters, elevator tenders, and many manual occupations. The pressure of young white adults from country districts has changed this tradition during my lifetime. Negroes have almost completely lost out as barbers to white trade, largely lost out as elevator tenders, partially lost out as waiters, and felt severe pressure in the building trades. As an index of the trend, it is said that in certain cities white men are driving the trucks and collecting the garbage in Negro residence sections.

*Second:* The population pressure is basic in determining the wage differentials between the South and other sections. The differentials recognized by the N.R.A. have been long standing and even greater in extent than those set up by that body. Clarence Heer, in his discerning study of incomes in the South, has gone to the root of the matter in showing that these differentials are based on the low productivity of agriculture and the increase of population in agricultural areas. Any unskilled occupation which could be entered by a farm youth without an apprenticeship showed a wide differential between the South and other sections. In this category were the day laborers, sawmill roustabouts, railway maintenance men, etc. These occupations paid wages about 80 per cent higher in other sections than in the South. On the other hand,

skilled occupations showed slight differentials, railway engineers none, skilled band-sawyers only about 20 per cent.

*Third:* The fact that the excess of population has been draining off to other sections brings with it a whole series of phenomena common to areas losing by migration. There is the upset of the age distribution drawing off the productive middle age groups, and leaving behind the young and old. In my study of St. Helena Island in 1928 I found that a large proportion (about 30 per cent) of the households were headed by women past middle age who were widowed or deserted and who often were left with the care of growing children. Other studies of black belt areas have shown similar conditions. Before 1930 these female heads of households eked out a bare existence gardening, tending a few domestic animals and picking up spare cash at odd jobs. Since 1930, the majority have lost their casual income and gone on relief. Recent rural relief studies in the eastern cotton belt show 15 per cent of the relief households without a male over 16 and another 15 per cent without an employable male. This class may be characterized as the jetsam of migration.

Migration further exerts a selective drag on the talent of the region. This is difficult to measure at the bottom of the scale, but its effect at the top is marked. Wilson Gee has shown a 45 per cent drag of social scientists and 60 per cent of natural scientists. That is to say, 45 per cent of the eminent social scientists who were born in the South were living outside the South, and 60 per cent of the natural scientists. This selection of the most able and energetic doubtless extends all the way down the social scale.

The educational implication of the southern population picture is seldom fully realized. Owing to migration, the



South with meagre resources for taxation is left with a disproportionally large number of educable children. The rural states of the South must support nearly a third of their population in school, the industrial states less than one-fourth. This means that when an equal expenditure per dollar of wealth is made for education, a tremendous discrepancy in per capita remains.

Also owing to migration it is evident that a child born in Mississippi or Alabama has in about 12 per cent of the cases made his life contribution to some other section, say New York or Illinois. For this reason, the educational and cultural level of the southern population is almost as much of national as it is of sectional concern.

From still another viewpoint, the cultural level of the South cannot be ignored. This accumulation of a great mass of rural population with limited cultural opportunities creates a hotbed of smouldering discontent which at any instant can break out into revolt against the status quo. They can be relied upon to vote the democratic ticket, but the sterling specimens of humanity which they sometimes select to represent the democratic party are astounding. In other words, lacking any other tangible hope from any other source, they turn to salvation by shenanigan. If there is a feeling that this characterization of southern politics is too harsh, one had only examine the roster of superlative demagogues which have come from southern states to the Senate.

#### SITUATION SINCE 1930

The trend since 1930 has been different from that before 1930. The rate of increase of population has declined somewhat, but not sufficiently to alleviate the pressure of population on resources as at present used. On the other hand, the

migration to cities has practically stopped and in some sections there has been an actual return to subsistence farming in the poorer areas, especially the Appalachian and Ozark Mountain areas.

The conclusions of the Study of Population Redistribution drawn from school censuses are that a number of the poorer counties of the South which were losing population between 1920 and 1930, have since 1930 been either gaining or losing at a much slower rate. The figures released by the census on increases in farms between 1930 and 1935 check with this. The Appalachian and Ozark areas show rapid increase, the Gulf Coast recently cut-over areas slight increases, and the old black belt cotton counties and Mississippi delta counties are stationary or show slight decreases. That is to say, both of these series of data show that in the preponderant area of the South the draining off to cities has stopped, and in some sections there has been an active increase in rural population. This means a youth problem of a size not generally realized.

Focusing attention for a moment on the young adult ages (from 15 to 25), we estimate by the age group survival method that nearly three million young people matured into this group between 1930 and 1935 in rural districts of 11 southern states. Hardly a half million of these stepped into places vacated by deaths of their elders, hardly a half million remained in school, about a quarter of a million are cared for in the increases in farms—mostly subsistence farms. This leaves about a million and three-quarters who remain in the farm home as casual labor or unemployed. This is a great segment of a generation whose potentialities are lost, a vast amount of human waste.

In other words the situation of the South up until recently was that of the poor nephew raising the large family in-

stead of the rich uncle. All that he has gotten out of it was criticism of his methods of child rearing, and of the behavior of the children when they grow up.

#### PLANNING IN THE SOUTHEAST

Now the rich uncle has modified his attitude. He has said I shall try to plan a way out for this poor nephew. But has he recognized the fact that the poor nephew is raising the family? He has not given any such indication—most of the plans have been of an engineering or economic nature with a blithe disregard for population trends.

The exceptions to this statement are the rural rehabilitation program of the FERA and the social and economic program of the TVA.

With all its handicaps of hurried organization and lack of precedents, the first year's work of the rural rehabilitation corporations has demonstrated that their programs can be effective in salvaging the wreckage which the tenant system has sloughed off in the past seven years.

Southern farm prices entered the depression in 1928, a year ahead of the rest of the nation, and for seven years since that date tenant farmers have been losing out and becoming detached from commercial farming. Many have lost their means of production and, lacking credit, have been forced on relief rolls. The objective of rural rehabilitation has been to re-establish these people in productive agriculture through finding idle land for them and lending them the funds for production goods and subsistence. This program is projected to meet the realities of the situation, and when the details of its operation have been worked out, it will make a genuine contribution to the re-integration of southern agriculture. Up to March of this year over 100,000 farmers,

previously on relief, had been shifted to a rehabilitation status and given a chance again to become self-supporting farmers. The expenditure for this process has been remarkably small. In the South an outlay of \$250 will in most cases set them up as tenants. A mule, simple tools, and subsistence is all that they need. When it is considered that this is a loan and not a gift, it would seem to be a remarkably wise investment.

The rehabilitation program, however, is aimed at alleviating the condition of the man lowest down on the ladder,—those who have been so unfortunate as to come to the relief agencies for aid. The lot of the normal tenant is almost as bad at times and very few tenants are able to escape from the plantation system.

The Bankhead bill now pending is aimed at the improvement of the condition of the normal tenant—the tenant not on relief. Its purpose is to circumvent some of the great obstacles which stand between the tenant and land ownership, by allowing him to purchase land on a long term contract and by substituting government supervision for landlord supervision and government credit for the present ruinously priced merchant credit. This bill has met with considerable opposition in some quarters because it is said to be too socialistic. Regardless of what "ism" may be attached to it as a label, this proposal appeals to those who know tenancy not only in the South but also in other sections and in other nations as one of the most common sense approaches to actual needs of the tenants which has been proposed.

That the TVA is shaping its social and economic program in line with realities rather than theories is evidenced by the co-operative set-up which they have worked out with state colleges of agriculture, state departments of health, and state de-

partments of education, and also by the amount of attention which they are giving to stranded groups and submarginal people. In fact, the functions of the TVA might well be extended to embrace planning for the eleven southeastern states so that this board might become a Regional Planning Board rather than one so limited in area.

Turning now to the side of the planning picture which is not so favorable, let us examine first the effects of the AAA. Here the results of federal control of production have been mixed—good and bad. While the restriction of production was doubtless a necessary temporary measure, and while it has increased the farm price of cotton and tobacco by substantial amounts, it has neither reached the lower levels of the submerged population nor has it allowed for the expansion of the population. In other words, it has benefited the more favored classes but did not go far enough in planning for the needs of those less favorably situated. This program has been largely instrumental in increasing the deposits in the rural banks of seven cotton states from \$117,000,000 in July, 1933, to \$190,000,000 in 1934, but the rural relief rolls of these states are almost as large as ever.<sup>3</sup> In other words, the benefits have not penetrated down far enough. Then, too, the program virtually dictates a restrictive land policy, whereas all of the population trends which we have cited point definitely to the need of an expanding land policy.

In the South, therefore, we have the strange spectacle of one Government agency, the AAA, blocking the entry of displaced tenants and young adults to commercial agriculture, and another agency, the Rural Rehabilitation Corpora-

tion, trying to replace them in subsistence agriculture. If, however, they are held to a subsistence economy, it would mean that a great segment of the farm population would be forced to a lower standard of living. Sooner or later, therefore, the two programs will have to be reconciled.

Again those interested in the reconstruction of the agrarian South are apprehensive of all plans for moving stranded urban populations into the southern rural districts. He who runs should be able to read that southern agriculture has enough people dependent upon it without the addition of stranded industrial groups. To dump these into southern rural districts would be adding insult to injury. Fortunately for the South, not much has yet come of such proposals.

Again what about the education of the future Americans reared in the South? It has been pointed out that migration leaves the rural states with a third of their population of school age and industrial states with less than a fourth. It has also been pointed out that the agricultural income of these states is far below the lowest income of any state outside the South. Time after time, pressure has been brought to bear on Federal administrations to recognize the disparity in the numbers of educable children and the inequalities in wealth for supporting education, but without any results. Millions have been spent for the construction of highways and public buildings, but the needs of education have been neglected. There is not only a great deficiency in the facilities for those of school age but also a need for a revitalized adult education program to aid in the necessary adjustment of workers to the radical changes in economy and cultural life.

It is true that some PWA appropriations have been made to school buildings but these were limited and have not gone to

<sup>3</sup> Since this paper was delivered rural relief wards in cotton states have registered a slight decrease.

the communities which need them most. It is true that some FERA funds have trickled into education but this has placed education on a dole basis, aiding only those states where poverty has almost completely disorganized the school system. What is needed is a national educational plan to which the states will contribute according to their ability and for which the broader tax base of the nation will be used for equalization of opportunity. Any long time program which tries to salvage the human waste now occasioned by the pressure of population on resources and the lack of cultural institutions will adopt, as its central theme, the organization and revitalization of the educational system from the kindergarten to the university.

This paper has probably gone far enough to indicate some of the inadequacies of present plans to meet the situation in the rural South and to enable us to draw together a general basis for planning which will start with the South as it is. Some of the salient points are: (1) an expanding population; (2) limitation of the past opportunities for employment in cities; (3) much unused land and much land which, through a ruinous system of culture, is eroding and becoming unusable; (4) backward techniques of utilization of natural resources and lack of cultural institutions for the conservation of human resources; (5) necessity for radical reorganization of the system of land use—a shift from production of the overproduced money crops and a shift to the production of other crops of which there is a great deficiency in the South, such as livestock products and foodstuffs necessary for an adequate diet.

In short, the program should be the reconstruction of an agrarian culture of

expanding numbers, the rehabilitation of rural institutions and rural families, and the integration of this development with that of the other major regions of the nation.

Some observers conclude from the fact that the South ranks low in almost every index of wealth and culture that there are too many people in the area. As the economy of the region is at present organized, this is true, but this condition does not necessarily have to continue. More rational land use, more diversification of production and, above all, an increase in the standard of living of the people through the use of more home-produced goods can provide for an increased southern rural population at a higher level of living.

What happened in depressions of the past was that the displaced excess population moved westward and took up new lands. They had to live according to pioneer standards until they accumulated goods and increased the value of their holdings, but here in the South there is unused land much better than that taken up west of the Great Plains. The climate and rainfall are the most favorable to agriculture of any section. This means that the section is amply able to take care of a new crop of pioneers.

But whether you and I feel that the rural population of the South is too large or not, whether you and I feel that planning can cope with the situation or not, the concrete fact remains that the next mature generation has already been born and is now living on southern farms. They will mature in the next twenty years and, in the absence of a revival of rapid migration to cities, they must be fitted into an expanding agrarian culture or sink to an almost unendurable poverty.



SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENTIAL REPRODUCTION  
FOR AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

FREDERICK OSBORN

*New York City*

THE mechanical life of the United States is highly standardized but its people vary exceedingly. Our large regional groups have different cultures. Our occupational groups have different types of developed abilities. Among such a heterogeneous people education must present many perplexing aspects.

Our forefathers set great hopes on formal schooling. It was to improve the quality of each individual, and its effects were to be cumulative from one generation to another. After five generations of universal education, much of it compulsory, we are no longer so confident of what can be done by formal schooling alone. We recognize that there are a number of factors to be taken into account in education, and that the cultural environment of the home and the limits set by genetic capacity are of equal importance with the quality of the schooling. Recently there have been developed various measures for determining the strength of these factors, such as indices of school efficiency, home ratings, and scholastic aptitude tests. Psychologists have made an important contribution by studying the differences, in various population groups, of the contribution to education which can be expected from these different factors, and already educational policy is being modified as a result of this new information.

But the distribution in various population groups of the factors affecting education is not static. It is changing in each generation as a result of adjustments among conflicting culture patterns, changes in economic conditions, and differences in rates of reproduction. The

importance of the last of these factors, although usually ignored, is tremendous, inasmuch as some large population groups are increasing at over 60 per cent per generation and others of very different type are failing by 30 per cent to reproduce themselves. It is, therefore, not enough for the educator to know how the basic factors affecting education are distributed throughout the population. Permanent educational policies must take into account the constant changes in their distribution which result from social changes and from differential rates of reproduction and migration. It is here that the student of population can perhaps contribute material of importance to an effective educational policy.

The most fundamental factor in education is of course the innate potentiality of the individual, the limits set on his development by his genetic constitution. The field of individual differences in capacity to learn has been systematically studied by psychologists and there is general agreement that there are wide differences between individuals, ranging from the unalterable stupidity of the imbecile to the amazing responsiveness of the genius. The existence of extreme differences in educability has already been recognized in educational policy in the many special classes set up for the extremely dull and in special classes for the very superior.

The question of the distribution of genetic capacity is, however, one about which we know very little. There appears to be almost no sound scientific material bearing on racial differences in

capacity for intelligence. But as the rates of reproduction of the larger racial groups in this country are quite similar, this question would not, in any event, greatly concern us here. In the case of rural-urban differences, there are such wide variations between farm and city in rates of reproduction that any difference in genetic capacity between these two groups would be of great significance. But there is no reliable information on differences in genetic capacity between the farmer and the city dweller. The differences in response to intelligence tests are probably environmental, and until we have controlled studies on this subject no conclusions can be drawn. To obtain control of the elements involved, either the heredity or the environment must be held constant. No way of doing this has been devised for large groups, but an approximation can be obtained by studies of foster children derived from different social classes, such as those of Burks in California or Freeman and his associates in Chicago.

There is thus some information available on differences in the average genetic capacity of the different social economic groups in our cities, and as there are at present quite wide differences in reproductive rates between these groups, any information available on their average capacity for intelligence is worth considering. The two important studies by Burks and Freeman on foster children were not directed toward determining class differences in intelligence, but some evidence on the subject can be gained from their material. The foster children in the Burks study were the children of parents of substantially lower occupational rating than the parents in the home in which they were placed, and, on the average, the foster children some years after adoption show an intelligence test rating about

eight points below that of own children. In the Freeman study of foster children there is an opportunity to separate the illegitimate children whose true parents have a relatively higher average occupational rating and the legitimate children whose true parents had very inferior occupational and social economic rating. When tested after adoption the illegitimate children show an I.Q. approximately ten points above that of the legitimate.

The interesting study by Lawrence in an orphans' home in England was directed in part at finding out whether there were any differences in genetic capacity between children whose parents were of different occupational groups. Conditions in this study were particularly favorable for eliminating other factors, but the number of children studied was not large. There was an extreme difference of approximately seven points in intelligence between the children whose parents were in the upper occupational classes as opposed to those whose parents were in the lowest occupational classes. We now have available some material from a study on foster children under the auspices of the University of Minnesota, which has been very kindly placed at our disposal by Dr. Alice M. Leahy. (See Figure I and Table I.) In spite of the small size of the samples, the differences usually found between children classified according to father's occupation are clearly indicated, and are statistically reliable, in the case of children born and brought up in the same homes. (See Table I.) In striking contrast, the differences in average intelligence ratings are small in the case of foster children classified by occupation of the foster father. Furthermore, in the case of children separated from their own parents when less than one year of age, apparently significant differences (though slightly smaller than those found in the first case)

again appear between the ratings of children derived from fathers who were skilled workers and the ratings of children derived from fathers who were unskilled workers.

There is a remarkable similarity in the results obtained from these four studies. However, the social class differences found in these studies are not very large; the studies deal with a relatively small number of children; and while in some of these comparisons the influence of selective placing seems to have been eliminated,

the large farming group, it is evident that the student of population is not yet sufficiently informed on the distribution of innate capacity to draw sweeping conclusions on the subject. Except for those small groups in our population suffering from extreme hereditary deficiencies, the distribution of native capacity is not at present a matter of known importance for educational policy. But since some, at least, of the differentials in birth-rates may possibly be making for a constantly less educable people, the subject will continue

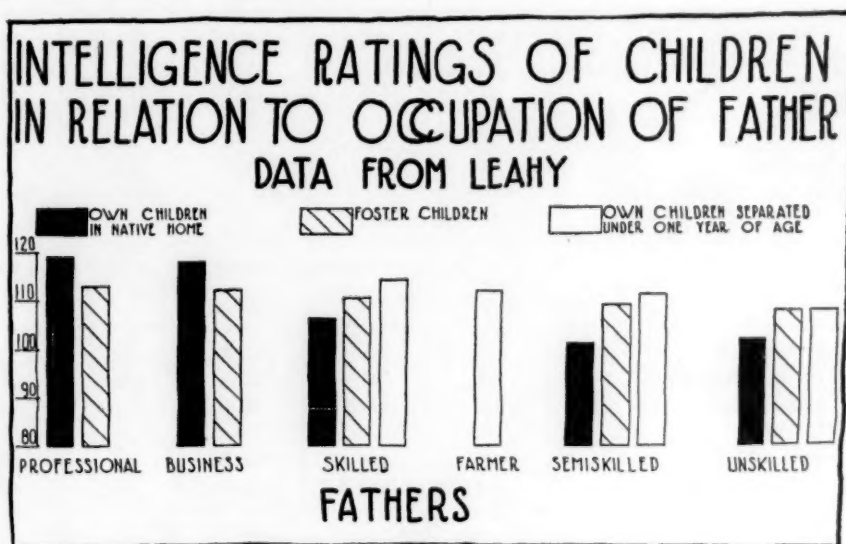


FIG. I

there are other factors which may have disturbed the results. They cannot be taken as conclusive, but their general similarity is an interesting indication of probable trends.

Whether or not later studies confirm these conclusions, it would appear that differences in the average genetic capacity of occupational groups are very much less than differences between the individuals within each group. Bearing this in mind, and further bearing in mind that we have no studies available on the capacity of the

to be of great interest to the educator, and he will take every opportunity to urge its further study.

The differences in cultural-intellectual stimulus afforded by different types of homes are very marked between different large population groups. As they are associated in almost all cases with very large differences in rates of reproduction, they deserve particular attention. The problem may be studied in many ways. We have taken an index by states, based on the Army intelligence tests, circulation

of magazines, proportion of population in *Who's Who*, proportion illiterate, and inaccuracies in the Census. The resulting index of cultural-intellectual development has been superimposed on a map showing

ment appear to be associated with wide differences in rates of reproduction in the different types of home. If the proportion of children coming from homes least able to supplement a formal education is

TABLE I  
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INTELLIGENCE OF ADOPTED AND CONTROL CHILDREN AND ENVIRONMENTAL STATUS  
SCORE OF HOMES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION OF TRUE FATHERS AND FOSTER FATHERS  
(From a study by the Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota, Dr. Alice M. Leahy)  
*Control Children*

| OCCUPATION OF FATHER     | N  | INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT |      | ENVIRONMENTAL STATUS |      |
|--------------------------|----|-----------------------|------|----------------------|------|
|                          |    | M                     | S.D. | M                    | S.D. |
| I Professional.....      | 40 | 118.6                 | 12.6 | 180.4                | 29.1 |
| II Business Manager..... | 42 | 117.6                 | 15.6 | 160.7                | 31.1 |
| III Skilled Trades.....  | 43 | 106.9                 | 14.3 | 106.3                | 43.4 |
| IV Farmer.....           | —  | —                     | —    | —                    | —    |
| V Semi-skilled.....      | 46 | 101.1                 | 12.5 | 77.6                 | 37.4 |
| VI, VII Unskilled.....   | 23 | 102.1                 | 11.0 | 40.1                 | 26.7 |

*Adopted Children*

| OCCUPATION OF FOSTER FATHER | N  | INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT |      | ENVIRONMENTAL STATUS |      |
|-----------------------------|----|-----------------------|------|----------------------|------|
|                             |    | M                     | S.D. | M                    | S.D. |
| I Professional.....         | 43 | 112.6                 | 11.8 | 194.6                | 27.2 |
| II Business Manager.....    | 38 | 111.6                 | 10.9 | 171.3                | 40.2 |
| III Skilled Trades.....     | 44 | 110.6                 | 14.2 | 133.2                | 35.2 |
| IV Farmer.....              | —  | —                     | —    | —                    | —    |
| V Semi-skilled.....         | 45 | 109.4                 | 11.8 | 94.0                 | 30.3 |
| VI, VII Unskilled.....      | 24 | 107.8                 | 13.6 | 74.7                 | 28.7 |

*Adopted Children*

| OCCUPATION OF TRUE FATHER | N  | INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT |      |
|---------------------------|----|-----------------------|------|
|                           |    | M                     | S.D. |
| I Professional.....       | 1  | 108.0                 | —    |
| II Business Manager.....  | 2  | 116.0                 | 7.0  |
| III Skilled Trades.....   | 24 | 114.2                 | 14.6 |
| IV Farmer.....            | 11 | 112.0                 | 14.6 |
| V Semi-skilled.....       | 21 | 111.2                 | 7.1  |
| VI Slightly skilled.....  | 14 | 107.6                 | 8.3  |
| VII Day Labor.....        | 16 | 107.8                 | 10.5 |

the rate of reproduction in each of the states in percentages of increase or decrease for 1920. (See Figure II.)

Many other studies show the same general result, namely, that differences in the stimulus value of the home environ-

increasing in each generation, while the proportion coming from better equipped homes is diminishing, there is presented a problem which seems of considerable significance for educational policy.

It is not easy to determine the efficiency



of schools in different communities. Many studies have been made using different methods. The simplest, and the one we will use here, is that of basing efficiency on per capita expenditure per pupil. We have combined these figures from the Office of Education for 1930 with an index of reproduction for the same year by states. (See Table II.)

Education is being concentrated on groups where there are the fewest children, and on children who in turn will have the fewest children. The least formal school-

munity is about at the subsistence point, without margin to provide much schooling, and where the home has no margin on which to provide intellectual stimulus. The important Study of Population Redistribution, which is now being made, has included computation of an index of economic level for all of the counties in the United States for 1930. Dr. Carter Goodrich, directing this study, has kindly placed this material at our disposal, and we have added to it the ratio of children under five years of age to women 20-44

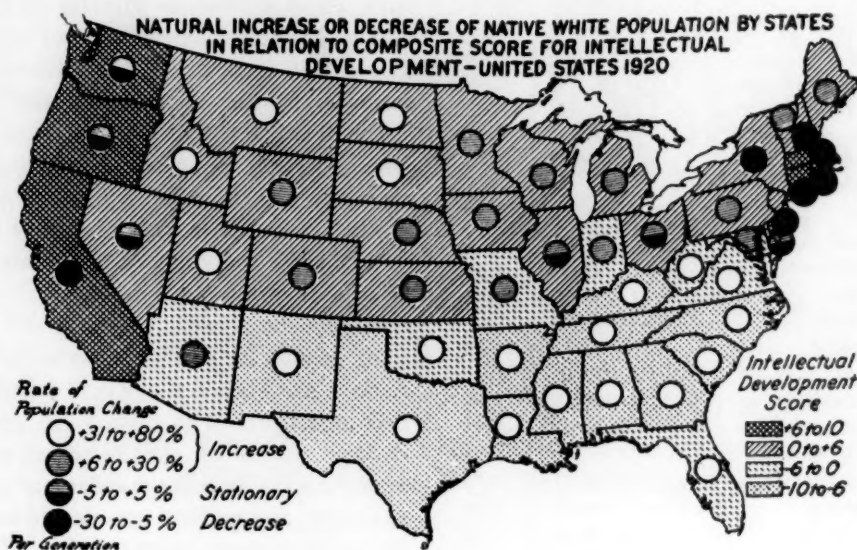


FIG. II

ing is being expended on those children who undoubtedly are going to rear the largest families. We submit that this is a matter of significance for educational policy.

Of the three factors which we have been considering as basic to educational advance, it is evident that two, the quality of the home and the efficiency of the school, are broadly related to the economic level of the community. This is particularly true in rural communities at the lower economic levels, where the com-

years of age, to show a comparison of economic level and of reproduction by groups of counties. (See Figures III and IV. See also Table III.)

It will be noted what a very wide range of variation there is between the counties at the extreme economic levels. It is urged by many that the raising of the economic level of these large groups now barely above the level of subsistence is the most important single factor for the general advance of education. Important as this suggestion may be, it is probable

TABLE II  
ANNUAL COST OF EDUCATION PER PUPIL IN RELATION  
TO REPRODUCTION INDEX, BY STATES, 1930

| STATE                     | PER PUPIL<br>EXPENDI-<br>TURE | REPRODUC-<br>TION<br>INDEX* |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Alabama.....              | \$37.28                       | 1.41                        |
| Arizona.....              | 109.12                        | 1.40                        |
| Arkansas.....             | 33.56                         | 1.38                        |
| California.....           | 133.30                        | 0.80                        |
| Colorado.....             | 110.76                        | 1.12                        |
| Connecticut.....          | 102.58                        | 0.96                        |
| Delaware.....             | 95.12                         | 0.96                        |
| District of Columbia..... | 132.39                        | 0.61                        |
| Florida.....              | 50.61                         | 1.05                        |
| Georgia.....              | 31.89                         | 1.27                        |
| Idaho.....                | 86.86                         | 1.39                        |
| Illinois.....             | 102.56                        | 0.89                        |
| Indiana.....              | 91.66                         | 1.08                        |
| Iowa.....                 | 96.10                         | 1.11                        |
| Kansas.....               | 92.81                         | 1.13                        |
| Kentucky.....             | 46.23                         | 1.42                        |
| Louisiana.....            | 48.19                         | 1.24                        |
| Maine.....                | 69.89                         | 1.25                        |
| Maryland.....             | 80.15                         | 1.02                        |
| Massachusetts.....        | 109.57                        | 0.94                        |
| Michigan.....             | 114.76                        | 1.13                        |
| Minnesota.....            | 101.29                        | 1.09                        |
| Mississippi.....          | 36.13                         | 1.39                        |
| Missouri.....             | 70.28                         | 0.92                        |
| Montana.....              | 109.73                        | 1.21                        |
| Nebraska.....             | 93.08                         | 1.15                        |
| Nevada.....               | 136.18                        | 1.03                        |
| New Hampshire.....        | 92.77                         | 1.09                        |
| New Jersey.....           | 124.90                        | 0.91                        |
| New Mexico.....           | 97.21                         | 1.65                        |
| New York.....             | 137.55                        | 0.84                        |
| North Carolina.....       | 42.85                         | 1.53                        |
| North Dakota.....         | 99.55                         | 1.52                        |
| Ohio.....                 | 95.69                         | 1.00                        |
| Oklahoma.....             | 65.48                         | 1.32                        |
| Oregon.....               | 103.31                        | 0.87                        |
| Pennsylvania.....         | 87.81                         | 1.12                        |
| Rhode Island.....         | 95.74                         | 1.00                        |
| South Carolina.....       | 39.98                         | 1.46                        |
| South Dakota.....         | 95.36                         | 1.34                        |
| Tennessee.....            | 42.66                         | 1.27                        |
| Texas.....                | 54.57                         | 1.20                        |
| Utah.....                 | 25.08                         | 1.52                        |
| Vermont.....              | 84.24                         | 1.26                        |
| Virginia.....             | 44.25                         | 1.31                        |
| Washington.....           | 100.45                        | 0.89                        |
| West Virginia.....        | 72.18                         | 1.54                        |
| Wisconsin.....            | 94.17                         | 1.14                        |
| Wyoming.....              | 128.59                        | 1.25                        |

that any single solution for an advancing level of education represents an oversimplification of the problem. In any case, population analysis shows that the wide differences in economic level and standards of living are, to a certain extent, perpetuated by the large differentials in reproduction with which they are associated, and that they affect the home environment and the efficiency of schooling to a marked degree.

We have confined ourselves to differentials between groups, for we know very little about differences in rates of reproduction between different types of individuals within groups. What evidence there is indicates that such differentials with reference to intelligence ratings or economic status are generally similar in character to those between the larger groups, although in some relatively small groups these individual differentials may be in a direction opposite to the differentials between groups. We may say with some confidence that differential fertility in the United States today is in a direction definitely opposed to raising the average cultural status of the home, definitely opposed to raising the standard of school efficiency, and perhaps opposed to raising innate biological capacity. In addition, it is opposed to better standards of living and a higher economic level for the lowest economic groups—all factors important for an effective education. Surely these findings have significance for American educational policy.

There are two ways in which the edu-

\* The reproduction index used is the ratio of the actual number of children under 5 per 1000 women aged 20-44 to the number required to replace the present population. The replacement quota for whites, 443 in 1930, was increased 10 per cent for colored. A replacement quota was then computed for each region by weighting the white and colored quotas according to the proportions of the respective groups in the total population of the region.

cator can recognize the present significance of these studies. In the first place, it would seem of the utmost importance that this field should be given more extensive

insurance companies, and in a few universities. At present our colleges support large staffs in psychology, anthropology, sociology, geography, and political sci-

### CHILDREN UNDER FIVE YEARS PER 1000 WOMEN AGED 20-40 YEARS COUNTIES WITH LESS THAN 45 PERSONS PER SQUARE MI. UNITED STATES 1930

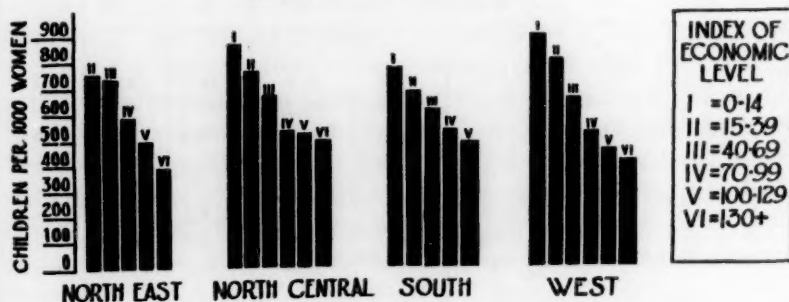


FIG. III

### PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS WOMEN AGED 20 TO 44 YRS CHILDREN UNDER 5 YRS COUNTIES GROUPED BY ECONOMIC LEVEL INDEX OF FERTILITY (U.S. AVERAGE=100)

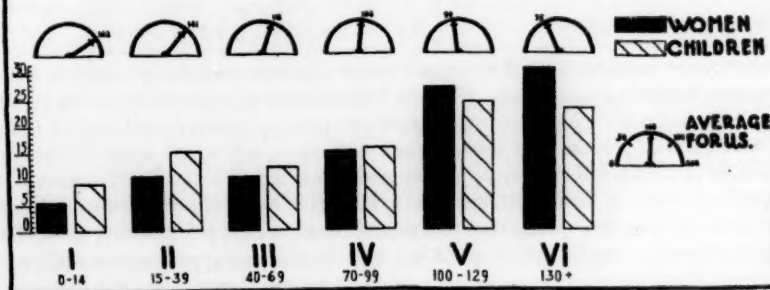


FIG. IV

study. To date, work in the field of population has been done only by a handful of students in government departments, in a few foundations, in some life

ence. They cannot afford any longer to disregard the importance of studies on the composition of different population groups in this country and their reproductive

trends, together with the causes and effects of wide variations in the birth-rate. It might be pointed out that the material involved in such studies is of a very factual

of population, the educator might well consider the possibilities for developing a population policy that might improve the factors basic to education. Such a task is

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS AND OF WOMEN AGED 20-44 YEARS, BY REGION AND BY COUNTIES, GROUPED ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC LEVEL, UNITED STATES, 1930—WITH PER CENT OF EXCESS OR DEFICIT IN RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN, RELATIVE TO AVERAGE FOR TOTAL UNITED STATES\*

| AREA                                  | PER CENT IN SPECIFIED AREA AND ECONOMIC GROUP |       |       |       |       |       |       |
|---------------------------------------|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                                       | Total   | 1     | 2     | 3     | 4     | 5     | 6     |
| United States                         |   |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| Children.....                         | 100   | 9.1   | 15.1  | 12.2  | 15.8  | 24.4  | 23.4  |
| Women.....                            | 100   | 5.6   | 10.7  | 10.3  | 15.2  | 27.2  | 31.0  |
| Excess in ratio of children to women  | —   | +62.5 | +41.1 | +18.4 | +3.9  | -10.3 | -24.5 |
| North East                            |   |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| Children.....                         | 26.1  | —     | 0.006 | 1.1   | 3.8   | 10.3  | 10.9  |
| Women.....                            | 29.9  | —     | 0.004 | 0.8   | 3.3   | 12.1  | 13.8  |
| Excess in ratio of children to women. | -12.7   | —     | +50.0 | +37.5 | +11.5 | -14.8 | -21.0 |
| North Central                         |   |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| Children.....                         | 28.0  | 0.12  | 0.6   | 2.6   | 6.1   | 9.9   | 8.7   |
| Women.....                            | 29.7  | 0.07  | 0.4   | 2.0   | 5.6   | 10.4  | 11.4  |
| Excess in ratio of children to women. | -5.7  | +71.4 | +50.0 | +35.0 | +8.9  | -4.8  | -23.6 |
| South                                 |   |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| Children.....                         | 37.3  | 8.8   | 14.1  | 7.2   | 4.2   | 2.5   | 0.5   |
| Women.....                            | 30.6  | 5.5   | 10.1  | 6.5   | 4.6   | 3.2   | 0.7   |
| Excess in ratio of children to women. | +21.9   | +60.0 | +39.6 | +10.7 | -8.7  | -21.8 | -28.5 |
| West                                  |   |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| Children.....                         | 8.7   | 0.10  | 0.4   | 1.4   | 1.9   | 1.6   | 3.3   |
| Women.....                            | 9.8   | 0.07  | 0.3   | 1.0   | 1.8   | 1.6   | 5.1   |
| Excess in ratio of children to women. | -11.2   | +42.8 | +33.3 | +40.0 | +10.5 | —     | -35.3 |

\* The material on the economic level of American counties was made available through the courtesy of the Study of Population Redistribution. Group '1' in the table contains all the counties in the lowest economic group; group '6' all counties in the highest economic group; the other groups are ranged between these extremes. (The indexes were based on proportion of federal income tax returns, radios, and domestic telephones.) The material on number of women and children by county groups was obtained from The Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, Volume III, Pts. 1 and 2, Table 11. As the rate of reproduction for the United States as a whole in 1930 was little greater than that required to replace the population in the next generation, the figures which show the excess (or deficit) of children under 5 offer a fair approximation of the actual rate of increase or decrease of each group per generation at 1930 rates of reproduction.

sort, of the kind needed to strengthen the social sciences generally against the allegation that their use of the term "science" is misappropriated.

Besides furthering studies in the field

not so hopeless as it may appear to those who have not given it consideration. A great deal of basic material is already available, sufficient perhaps for outlining a tentative program.



The major factor causing group differentials in fertility is the difference in proportion of large families between population groups. In English marriages between 1860 and 1870, 50 per cent of the women bore an average of eight or more children apiece. Such a population was increasing with great rapidity notwithstanding the high mortality and especially the high infant mortality rates then existing. In North Carolina in 1930, 24 per cent of the married women had six children or more, and the state had a reproduction rate 40 per cent above that necessary for replacement. In Indiana 16 per cent of the women had six children or more, and the reproduction of the state was at a balance. In California 6 per cent of the married women in 1930 had six children or more, and California was reproducing at a rate of only 66 per cent of the number required for replacement. We know that in every population group a substantial number of married couples will be sterile. Others will be limited to one child only, and still others will, for one reason or another, inevitably make a very small contribution to the next generation. Only a part, perhaps 60 per cent, of the married people of any large group can be expected to have more than one child, and it is evident that of these a substantial proportion, about one-third, must average five or six children if the group as a whole is to replace itself.

Two factors appear to be paramount in determining the proportion of large families in American population groups today: the regional-occupational (the nearer to the farm, the larger the proportion of large families), and an often closely related factor, the extent and influence of the economic handicaps confronting those desiring large families. The extension of birth control may modify the effect of these factors; but there is no evidence that this effect will be reversed. Both must

be taken into account in formulating a population policy. The major aims of such a policy would be as follows:

1. Populations should be so placed, in relation to country life, as to maintain a proper balance in the proportion of large families and in the birth-rate of the nation as a whole.

2. In all social and occupational groups, for couples able properly to care for their children and desirous of assuming responsibility for large families, we should attempt to diminish the economic handicaps now attaching to five or six children or more. A great deal can be done along these lines by educational institutions in providing scholarships for children from large families, in paying their staffs on a scale based on number of children, and in other ways.

3. We should develop a strong public opinion against large families among couples unable for any reason to give their children a proper home background. Such people would include dependents, those of a submarginal status, and those of notably inferior intelligence. With increasing availability of birth control techniques, a strong public opinion might reduce large families in these groups to such a small proportion that the reproduction rate of these groups would fall substantially below the replacement level.

4. There should be absolute segregation of that limited number of people in whose case there is definite presumption of serious hereditary defects. The difficulties of segregation could be mitigated by sterilization in these cases if public opinion would permit. So small a proportion of defect is passed on by recognizable carriers that this measure would not rapidly effect biological change. None the less, the cost of segregation or sterilization would probably be offset by the saving effected in the next generation.

Such a program might be unexpectedly effective as it came to be understood by our people. No very great shift in proportion of large families is required in order greatly to diminish whatever bad effects there may be in present birth differentials. It is not a radical program. It is such a program as might be proposed by economists in order to improve the economic level of the lowest groups, or by geneticists as a practical biological program. These changes may even come of themselves over a period of time. There is some evidence in this direction from some of the European cities. If present differentials are of significance for educational policy it is evident that education has a contribution to make in the further development of factual material on this subject, and in the development of population policies which will be in line with educational advance.

A further possibility deserves serious consideration. Is American education today placing the proper emphasis on values? We have seen the change in emphasis from the classics to the physical sciences, and we are now witnessing an increasing emphasis on the sciences having to do with

man. We may hope that this shift will continue. But this is not the emphasis we mean. We have in mind the re-direction of education so as to inculcate the highest human values, which are associated not alone with learning, nor even alone with service to humanity, but with the basic processes of normal human life, and with the sacrifices, and responsibilities and the happiness which go with them. It is a question whether the education of young people in our high schools and colleges is preparing them for the self-denial and patient effort required of responsible parents. Do the women's colleges create a true appreciation of the proportionate rewards offered by children in middle or later life as compared to the rewards offered by a career and other individualistic interests? In the same way we may question the education in human values given to boys and men in school and colleges.

It is possible that the most significant changes to be made in educational policy in the next decade will have to do with a reorientation as to what is worth while in life, both for the individual and for the nation.

## FACTORS AFFECTING VARIATIONS IN HUMAN FERTILITY

FRANK W. NOTESTEIN AND CLYDE V. KISER

*Milbank Memorial Fund*

**T**HERE is no need for the purposes of this paper to document the fact that human fertility does vary. We are all aware that the birth rates in this and other Western countries have been falling rapidly, and that fertility is higher in rural than in urban districts, in some sections of the country than in others, and in the so-called lower social-economic

classes than in the upper classes. Our present concern is not with the nature of these trends and differences, but with the factors bringing them about. Since no complete discussion of the factors affecting variation in human fertility is possible within the compass of a short article, we shall endeavor to touch only a few of the more important points and to concentrate

somewhat on matters to which recent studies have brought new evidence.

For present purposes the factors underlying differences in fertility may be classified into three types: first, those of a selective nature; second, those of an indirect causal nature relating to the environment; and third, direct causal factors relating to reproductive behavior.

The selective processes require no special elaboration although they are probably more important than is generally realized. The type is well illustrated by the low fertility found in apartment house districts. Part of the explanation is that people with children seek less congested residential areas. Similarly, selection accounts in part for the relatively high fertility of families on relief. In this case, one of the causal sequences runs from high fertility to the need for relief and its consequent availability.

The environmental factors have been designated as indirect because they influence fertility only by modifying the direct or immediate factors of reproductive behavior. These modifications may or may not be deliberate, but they occur in differential degree according to the impact of the indirect factors on specific groups or societies. We shall make only a hasty survey of these environmental factors.

Even casual observers have been struck by the fact that, although low income status is accompanied by high fertility, economic pressure and lack of security tend to reduce fertility. The resolution of this paradox lies simply in the fact that high fertility does not stem from low income *per se*, but from the accompanying capacities, culture, and standards of living. Of themselves, economic pressure and lack of security appear to be unfavorable to fertility. The case is well illustrated by the birth rates of low income groups during the depression. Sydenstricker and

Perrott found that in this period families with the lowest incomes had the highest fertility.<sup>1</sup> In spite of current misconceptions, this does not mean that the birth rates of the low income groups rose during the depression. On the contrary they fell, as did the birth rates of the less fertile groups in the face of increasing economic pressure.

It must not be imagined that all differences in fertility are to be interpreted in terms of economic pressure. The situation is infinitely more complex. An entire network of factors is involved in the higher fertility of rural than urban groups and in the relatively high fertility of the lower urban classes. Education, weight of traditions, customs, habits, religious teaching, legal restraints, the employment of women in industry and other specific occupational situations, class ideals, ambitions of parents for their children, opportunities for diversified interests, the tension of city living, the prevalence of diseases, and other factors doubtless play some part in building up class, sectional, national, and other differences in fertility.

The associations of some of these factors with fertility are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2 (Tables I and II). The data were obtained by field studies conducted by the staff of the Milbank Memorial Fund in selected areas of Columbus, Ohio; Syracuse, New York, and the Bushwick district of Brooklyn. Figure 1 shows the total number of children born per 100 wives for families classified by the husband's occupational status and school attainment. The rates have been standardized for the wife's age and relate to families in which both husband and wife are native born. Two points are worth noting. First,

<sup>1</sup> Edgar Sydenstricker and G. St. J. Perrott. *Sickness, Unemployment, and Differential Fertility*. Milbank Memorial Fund *Quarterly*, April, 1934, XII, No. 2, pp. 126-133.

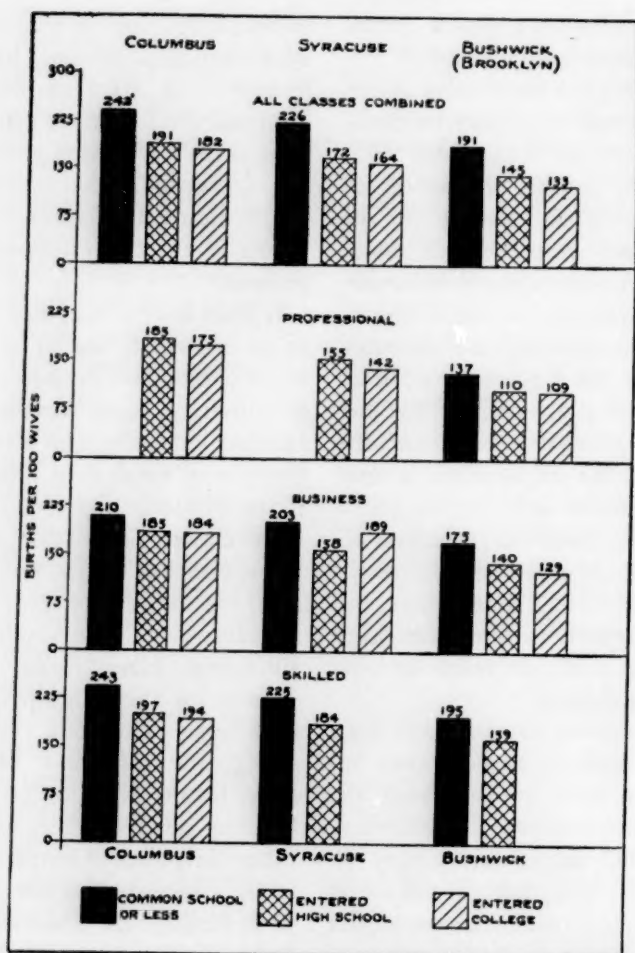


FIG. 1. BIRTH RATES BY OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF HUSBANDS IN COLUMBUS, SYRACUSE, AND BUSHWICK (BROOKLYN)

The rates are children born per 100 wives standardized for age and relate to unions in which both husband and wife are native born.

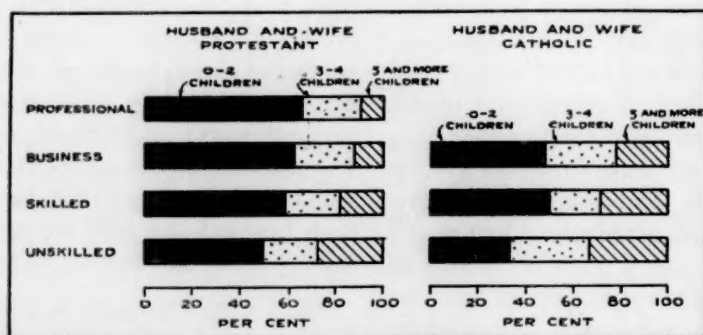


FIG. 2. PROPORTION OF UNIONS OF COMPLETED FERTILITY TO WHICH 0-2, 3-4, AND 5 OR MORE CHILDREN WERE BORN, BY RELIGION AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASS

The data relate to unions in which both the husband and wife were native born, and were drawn from field studies in Columbus, Syracuse, and Bushwick (Brooklyn).



school attainment and fertility are inversely associated, both in the entire sample of differences between the college and high school groups are relatively insignificant

TABLE I

BIRTH RATES BY OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF HUSBANDS IN COLUMBUS, SYRACUSE, AND BUSHWICK (BROOKLYN)

The data relate to marriages in Columbus, Syracuse, and Bushwick in which both husband and wife are native-born

| SOCIAL CLASS                              | COLUMBUS              |                     |                 | SYRACUSE              |                     |                 | BUSHWICK (BROOKLYN)   |                     |                 |
|---|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
|   | Common school or less | Entered high school | Entered college | Common school or less | Entered high school | Entered college | Common school or less | Entered high school | Entered college |
| Births per 100 wives standardized for age |                       |                     |                 |                       |                     |                 |                       |                     |                 |
| All classes†.....                         | 242                   | 191                 | 182             | 226                   | 172                 | 164             | 191                   | 145                 | 133             |
| Professional.....                         | *                     | 185                 | 175             | *                     | 155                 | 142             | 137                   | 110                 | 109             |
| Business.....                             | 210                   | 185                 | 184             | 203                   | 158                 | 189             | 175                   | 140                 | 129             |
| Skilled.....                              | 243                   | 197                 | 194             | 225                   | 184                 | *               | 195                   | 159                 | *               |

Number of wives

|                   |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |    |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|----|
| All classes†..... | 837 | 810 | 432 | 681 | 705 | 256 | 1902 | 389 | 94 |
| Professional..... | *   | 56  | 195 | *   | 56  | 136 | 43   | 32  | 37 |
| Business.....     | 274 | 440 | 186 | 184 | 354 | 100 | 539  | 198 | 44 |
| Skilled.....      | 444 | 281 | 34  | 419 | 256 | *   | 1107 | 147 | *  |

\* Insufficient data.

† Includes unskilled and unknown occupations.

TABLE II

PROPORTION OF UNIONS OF COMPLETED FERTILITY TO WHICH 0-2, 3-4, AND 5 OR MORE CHILDREN WERE BORN, BY RELIGION AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASS

The data relate to marriages in Columbus, Syracuse, and Bushwick in which both husband and wife are native-born.

| SOCIAL CLASS      | HUSBAND AND WIFE PROTESTANT |              |              |                     | HUSBAND AND WIFE CATHOLIC |              |              |                     |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
|                   | Total                       | 0-2 children | 3-4 children | 5 and more children | Total                     | 0-2 children | 3-4 children | 5 and more children |
| Per cent          |                             |              |              |                     |                           |              |              |                     |
| Professional..... | 100.1                       | 66.2         | 24.4         | 9.5                 | *                         | *            | *            | *                   |
| Business.....     | 100.0                       | 62.7         | 25.2         | 12.1                | 100.0                     | 47.9         | 29.7         | 22.4                |
| Skilled.....      | 100.0                       | 58.8         | 22.9         | 18.3                | 100.0                     | 50.0         | 21.2         | 28.8                |
| Unskilled.....    | 100.0                       | 50.0         | 22.8         | 27.2                | 99.9                      | 33.3         | 33.3         | 33.3                |
| Numbers           |                             |              |              |                     |                           |              |              |                     |
| Professional..... | 201                         | 133          | 49           | 19                  | *                         | *            | *            | *                   |
| Business.....     | 703                         | 441          | 177          | 85                  | 165                       | 79           | 49           | 37                  |
| Skilled.....      | 673                         | 396          | 154          | 123                 | 292                       | 146          | 62           | 84                  |
| Unskilled.....    | 114                         | 57           | 26           | 31                  | 51                        | 17           | 17           | 17                  |

\* Insufficient data.

each community and also within each of the rather broad occupational classes. The compared with those between the high school and the common school groups. It

appears that a moderate amount of education was accompanied by a substantially lowered fertility. Second, the fertility of each educational and occupational class seems to be affected by the special characteristics of the community. The birth rates were highest in Columbus, intermediate in Syracuse, and lowest in Bushwick in each of the groups.

Figure 2 permits a comparison of the fertility of Catholics and Protestants. This time, however, the data are for women 45 or more years of age and show the proportions of wives who had borne 0-2, 3 or 4, and 5 or more children. Both the Protestant and Catholic groups had the characteristic inverse relation between social-economic status and fertility but large families were more common among the Catholics than among the Protestants in each occupational class. It is clear that, while Catholics are more fertile than Protestants, both groups react in the same direction to similar environments.

The proportion of persons who marry, age at marriage, and the frequency of broken marriage during the childbearing period also may be considered as indirect factors affecting fertility, although they are factors which themselves arise in large part from the environment. In a sense they are somewhat automatic limitations on the exposure to the risk of childbirth. We shall have to pass on without further reference to them in order to discuss factors of the third type, that is, those associated directly with reproductive behavior.

An important direct factor affecting human fertility is the pregnancy wastage due to stillbirths and abortions. It is only for the numerically less important item, stillbirths, that the data even approach adequacy. These show that in Western countries stillbirths are from about

two to five per cent as numerous as live births, and that the ratios are higher in the lower economic classes than in the upper.<sup>2</sup> The variation is due principally to differences in the rigors of living, prevalence of disease, and quality of obstetrical service.

Regarding the prevalence of spontaneous and induced abortions, one guess is nearly as good or bad as another, for obvious reasons. All that can be said with certainty is that both types are very common, that induced abortions are more common in urban than in rural districts, and that they are increasing in number. Taussig<sup>3</sup> estimates a minimum ratio of one abortion to two and one-half confinements in cities, and one abortion to five confinements in country districts. He believes that criminal abortions make up about one-half of all abortions in the country as a whole, and from 75 to 80 per cent of those in large cities. Millar,<sup>4</sup> studying the records of the Cincinnati General Hospital, finds that the abortion index increased much more rapidly than the birth index between 1918 and 1932, and especially since 1927.

Data collected from the patients of birth control clinics may be of doubtful value in determining the prevalence of abortion in the general population, but they do show that abortion is resorted to increasingly as the pressure to control

<sup>2</sup> See Robert Morse Woodbury. *Casual Factors in Infant Mortality*. A Statistical Study Based on Investigations in Eight Cities. United States Department of Labor, Bureau Publication No. 142, Washington, D. C., 1925, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Fred J. Taussig, M.D. Abortion in Relation to Fetal and Maternal Welfare. A chapter in *Fetal, Newborn, and Maternal Morbidity and Mortality*, a publication of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, D. Appleton-Century Company, New York and London, 1933, p. 449.

<sup>4</sup> William M. Millar, M.D. Human Abortion. *Human Biology*, VI, No. 2, May, 1934, pp. 271-307.

fertility becomes more acute. Kopp,<sup>5</sup> in her recent study of 10,000 clinic patients in New York City, found that the proportion of abortions increased from 10 per cent for first pregnancies to 41 per cent for fifth pregnancies, and 50 per cent for tenth pregnancies.

reau, but this time they are for a selected group of about 1,000 interviewed by Doctor Stix during a survey conducted by the staff of the Milbank Memorial Fund. The material shown relates to the experience prior to clinic attendance. Pregnancy rates, in the form of pregnancies per

TABLE III

PREGNANCY RATES AND DISTRIBUTION OF PREGNANCY TERMINATIONS BY TYPE IN SPECIFIED PERIODS OF MARRIED LIFE FOR PRE-CLINIC EXPERIENCE OF PATIENTS OF A BIRTH CONTROL CLINIC

| PREGNANCY RATES   | PERIOD OF MARRIED LIFE |       |       |       |
|---|------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
|   | 0-4                    | 5-9   | 10-14 | 15-19 |
| Total pregnancies.....  | 1943                   | 773   | 284   | 71    |
| Total years exposure.....   | 2874                   | 2146  | 1015  | 385   |
| Pregnancies per 100 years exposure.....                               | 68                     | 36    | 28    | 18    |
| <i>Percentage distribution of pregnancies by type of termination:</i> |                        |       |       |       |
| Total.....  | 100.0                  | 100.1 | 100.0 | 100.1 |
| Live births.....  | 76.9                   | 60.2  | 45.4  | 49.3  |
| Criminal abortions.....   | 14.8                   | 31.2  | 43.3  | 42.3  |
| Other wastage.....  | 8.3                    | 8.7   | 11.3  | 8.5   |

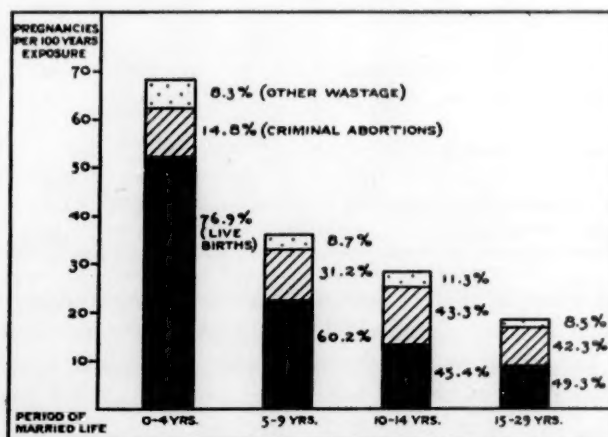


FIG. 3. PREGNANCY RATES AND DISTRIBUTION OF PREGNANCY TERMINATIONS BY TYPE IN SPECIFIED PERIODS OF MARRIED LIFE FOR PRE-CLINIC EXPERIENCE OF PATIENTS OF A BIRTH CONTROL CLINIC

Table III and Figure 3 express the same type of situation somewhat differently. The data, like Kopp's, are from patients of the Birth Control Clinical Research Bu-

100 years' exposure to the risk of pregnancy, are shown for four different periods of married life. The rate for each period has been broken down to show the proportion of resulting pregnancies terminated by live births, criminal abortions, and other pregnancy wastage. The preg-

<sup>5</sup> Marie E. Kopp. *Birth Control in Practice*. Robert M. McBride & Company, New York, 1934, Appendix Table XXII.

nancy rates decline with advancing duration of marriage, due largely to the increased use and effectiveness of contraception.<sup>6</sup> But the birth rates decline even more rapidly because of the increase in criminal abortions. During the first five years of married life, only 15 per cent of the pregnancies were terminated by criminal abortion, but after 10 years, the proportion rose to more than 40 per cent. Although the various lines of evidence are far from complete, they all point to the conclusion that, lacking effective contraception, fertility is increasingly controlled by induced abortion.

that if age at marriage is held constant there is no evidence that the proportion of involuntary childlessness differs much in different groups, or that it has changed much during the last fifty years.

Regarding the most important single direct factor affecting fertility, namely contraception, we have more adequate information, thanks to Professor Pearl's recent studies. His data were collected from confinement cases in urban hospitals by physicians in charge of the cases. The complete study will relate to more than 30,000 women but the most recently published material deals with 4,945.<sup>8</sup> In

TABLE IV

## THE PRACTICE OF CONTRACEPTION IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC STATUS AMONG WHITE WOMEN

From Raymond Pearl: "Contraception and Fertility in 4,945 Married Women," *Human Biology*, Volume 6, No. 2, May, 1934. Adapted from Table 9, p. 376.

|   | VERY POOR | POOR | MODERATE CIRCUMSTANCES | WELL-TO-DO AND RICH | TOTALS |
|---|-----------|------|------------------------|---------------------|--------|
| <i>Women who had experienced only one pregnancy:</i>      |           |      |                        |                     |        |
| Number of women.....                                      | 142       | 700  | 595                    | 146                 | 1583   |
| Number of women who practiced contraception.....          | 27        | 196  | 257                    | 111                 | 591    |
| Per cent who practiced contraception.....                 | 19.0      | 28.0 | 43.3                   | 76.0                | 37.3   |
| <i>Women who had experienced two or more pregnancies:</i> |           |      |                        |                     |        |
| Number of women.....                                      | 367       | 1248 | 759                    | 209                 | 2583   |
| Number of women who practiced contraception.....          | 139       | 561  | 428                    | 167                 | 1295   |
| Per cent who practiced contraception.....                 | 37.9      | 45.0 | 56.4                   | 79.9                | 50.1   |

There are a number of direct factors involved in human fertility about which we know even less than we do about abortion. Sterility is one of these. Lorimer and Osborn,<sup>7</sup> after examining such fragmentary data as there are, conclude

interpreting his results, two points must be kept clearly in mind. First, all the women had demonstrated their ability to conceive, and second, most of them lived in cities.

Professor Pearl finds that 45 per cent of the white women practiced contraception in some form, regularly or intermittently.<sup>9</sup> This broad average conceals the real gist of the matter as may be seen from Table IV

<sup>6</sup> See Regine K. Stix, M.D. and Frank W. Notestein. Effectiveness of Birth Control. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, January, 1934, XII, No. 1, pp. 57-68.

Effectiveness of Birth Control. A Second Study. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, April, 1935, XIII, No. 2, pp. 162-178.

<sup>7</sup> Frank Lorimer and Frederick Osborn. *Dynamics of Population*. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935, pp. 255-279.

<sup>8</sup> Raymond Pearl. Contraception and Fertility in 4,945 Married Women. A Second Report on a Study of Family Limitation. *Human Biology*, VI, No. 2, May, 1934, pp. 355-401.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 371.



and Figure 4. Contraception was much less common among women who had experienced one pregnancy than among those who had experienced two or more pregnancies. But in both the groups, the proportion of women practicing contraception rose sharply with improved economic status. Among white women who had experienced two or more pregnancies, efforts at contraception were made by only 38 per cent of the Very Poor but by 80 per cent of the Well-To-Do and Rich.

suggested by the pre-clinic experience of clinic cases in the Milbank Fund's series. We find that even among Catholics who attended a clinic, the proportion of pre-clinic exposure during which contraception was practiced was somewhat lower than that among Jews and Protestants. The ratios were 81 per cent for Catholics, 92 per cent for Jews, and 87 per cent for Protestants and others. The differences would probably be larger in the general population.

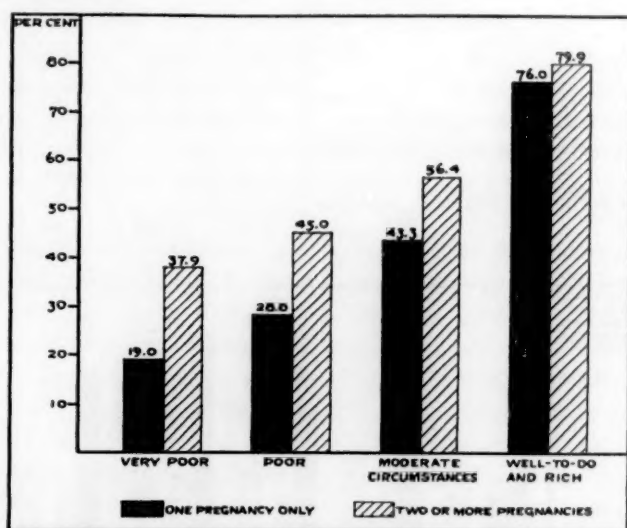


FIG. 4. PERCENTAGES OF WHITE WOMEN PRACTICING CONTRACEPTION IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC STATUS AND NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES EVER EXPERIENCED  
From Raymond Pearl. Contraception and Fertility in 4,945 Married Women. *Human Biology*, VI. No. 2, May, 1934, p. 378.

Since studies of clinic patients show that contraceptive practice increases with duration of marriage, it seems probable that these ratios minimize the proportion of women who sooner or later resort to contraception, but they do bring out with unmistakable clarity the fact that prevalence of contraceptive practice varies directly with economic status.

Apparently Catholics are somewhat less willing to practice contraception than other groups. Apart from the *a priori* reasons for believing this to be true, it is

The next direct factor and one closely related to the prevalence of contraceptive practice is the effectiveness of contraception. For present purposes we are not interested in effectiveness under ideal conditions, we simply want to know how effective contraception is as actually used. Again data relating to the pre-clinic exposure of clinic patients and the material from Professor Pearl's report become relevant.

Our study of the pre-clinic practice of clinic patients indicates not only that

Catholics were less willing than other religious groups to use contraception but also that they used it less effectively, both because of the methods selected and because of less effective or consistent applica-

group, paralleling as they do those of other groups, arise in part through differences in contraceptive practice.

One further relevant point comes from our study of the pre-clinic practice of

TABLE V

MEAN PREGNANCY RATES PER 100 COMPUTED OVULATIONS AMONG WHITE MARRIED WOMEN IN DIFFERENT ECONOMIC CLASSES AND CONTRACEPTIVE GENUS GROUPS

From Raymond Pearl: "Contraception and Fertility in 4,945 Married Women" *Human Biology*, Vol. 6, No. 2, May, 1934. Adapted from Table 16, p. 388.

| CONTRACEPTIVE GENUS GROUP  | VERY POOR | POOR  | MODERATE CIRCUMSTANCES | WELL-TO-DO AND RICH | TOTALS ALL WOMEN IN GROUP |
|--|-----------|-------|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| Per cent   |           |       |                        |                     |                           |
| No contraception.....  | 14.02     | 16.00 | 13.59                  | 16.97               | 15.03                     |
| Regular and steady practice of contraception.....                        | 8.77      | 10.56 | 8.63                   | 9.71                | 9.60                      |
| Contraceptive practice intermittent mainly for planned children.....     | 6.32      | 7.27  | 6.55                   | 5.16                | 6.48                      |
| Contraceptive practice intermittent for reasons other than planning..... | 8.59      | 10.41 | 9.67                   | 8.87                | 9.85                      |

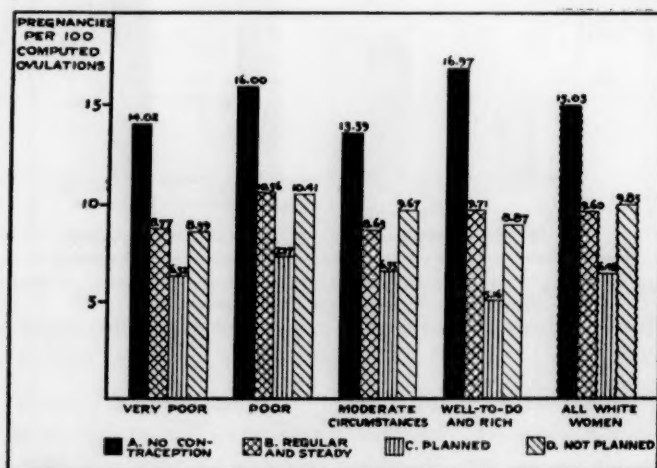


FIG. 5. PREGNANCIES PER 100 COMPUTED OVULATIONS AMONG WHITE WOMEN IN DIFFERENT ECONOMIC CLASSES AND CONTRACEPTIVE GENUS GROUPS

From Raymond Pearl. Contraception and Fertility in 4,945 Married Women. *Human Biology*, VI. No. 2, May 1934, p. 390.

tion of those methods. These findings support the view that the generally high fertility of Catholics is due in part to a reluctant and ineffective use of contraceptives. Probably it is equally true that the differences in fertility within the Catholic

clinic patients. It is that, however inadequate these untutored practices may be from the point of view of protecting the individual against *any* unwanted pregnancy, all of the methods exhibit a rather high degree of effectiveness in the sense of

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reducing the risk of pregnancy. In this sense, various methods ranged from 50 to more than 80 per cent effective. Such high orders of effectiveness attaching to untutored practices, some of which have come down from generation to generation time out of mind, give a clue to the mechanics of birth rate trends and differentials before the dissemination of modern contraceptive knowledge.

Pearl's study yields remarkable evidence of the influence of contraceptive practice on differences in the fertility of income groups. His results are summarized in Table V and Figure 5, taken from his report. He separates the women of each income class into four groups according to what he calls genus of contraceptive practice. Group A never used contraception; Groups B, C, and D used contraception, Group B regularly and steadily, if somewhat ineffectively, Group C intermittently, mainly for planned children, Group D intermittently for reasons other than planning. For each of these groups in each income class he presents the arithmetic mean of individual pregnancy rates. The rates are in the form of the number of pregnancies per 100 computed ovulations. The figure really speaks for itself. The women who practice contraception most intelligently and precisely, intermitting mainly for planned pregnancies, had rates from 57 to 75 per cent lower than the women who did not practice contraception at all. Moreover, the pregnancy rates for similar types of contraceptive practice are extraordinarily similar for the different economic classes. Quoting Professor Pearl: "This leads to the tentative conclusion (to be tested by further data) that the innate natural fertility of these women is about the same in the different economic classes here distinguished, and that the

differences in *expressed* fertility in the different economic classes are due mainly to different degrees of artificial alteration of the expression of innate natural fertility."<sup>10</sup>

Whether or not these findings will be borne out in detail by his further studies, it is already clear that differences in contraceptive practice are more important than any other factor in bringing about the existing differences in fertility. Since part of the differences in contraception exist only because of the lag in the infiltration of information through the various strata of society, we should expect the removal of legal and other barriers to the dissemination of contraceptive knowledge to result in a substantial narrowing of the differences in fertility.

Even if contraception were equally available to all classes, it probably would not be equally utilized by them. As we have seen, reproductive behavior is tied up with an entire network of customs, habits, attitudes, interests, and pressures. These constitute more permanent sources of fertility differences and will be substantially modified only by radical changes in education and standards of living. Improved educational facilities and a higher standard of living for the poorer sections and classes would doubtless be accompanied by more widespread family limitation, tending to bring their birth rates more nearly in line with those of other classes. Such a narrowing of fertility differentials, of course, would result in a further reduction of the general birth rate unless forces are set in motion which bring a new release of fertility. Probably nothing would contribute so powerfully to such a release as a greater degree of economic and social security.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399.

## SOCIAL FORCES

### ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

HERBERT VON BECKERATH

*University of North Carolina and Duke University*

#### FUNDAMENTALS AND PREREQUISITES OF CAPITALISTIC SOCIETY

COMMON to all the national, social, and economic crises of our day is the same fundamental problem of rebuilding a consistent workable connection between the political structure of the respective country and its economic structure. Moreover, what we call the international crisis receives its chief characteristic from a rupture of the harmony between the political and economic conditions respectively which has taken place also in the international order. By political structure or constitution we mean—in a broad sense—the order of power in society, which is not only built on law but on convention, manners, convictions, and feelings predominant in the respective society.

In spite of an old and widespread belief, it was not the nationally and internationally prevalent economic system of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the auto-corrective, individualistic and self-reliant competitive (or the so-called capitalistic) economy which built up the general social order and harmony.

That system, to be sure, has an immanent and inherent tendency towards harmonious adjustment of social production and distribution and towards a consistent selection of men for higher and independent economic positions, making for a certain type of social hierarchy and order. Yet from the beginning and in its most liberal epoch, this economic system was always embedded in, and maintained by, the larger political order of society which in turn was built upon entirely different principles than the rational and semi-

mechanical ones ruling the field of competitive economy. In this capitalistic system, superior efficiency in fair competition in price and quality of services and commodities, correctly focused upon the demand of consumers according to their needs and purchasing power, is decisive; and supply and demand are coördinated by the play of price and interest rates. However, that in the economic sphere fair competition in price and quality is possible, that not only disturbing and dislocating monopoly and unfair competition are curbed, but also the cruder forms of strife for material success by mere force (robbery, theft) and by cheating (corruption, bribery, maligning of competitors, etc.) are legally excluded and practically checked in the field of private economy, that standards of decency, honor, and fairness mitigate the ruthless competitive fight, is, of course, not due to the economic system itself. It is due to the political order of society at large—its laws, its convention, its standards of morale and decency, its administration and police.

It is also this general political order which protects each national body of social economy from forceful interference from other countries, and builds through international political and legal agreements the world-wide platform whereupon foreign trade can safely operate.

The capitalistic economy presumes for its function a relative security and stability in the general legal and political conditions upon which it is founded. This applies particularly to private property, private contractual rights, and freedom of choice in profession. Where this security and stability do not exist and the private

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individual in his individual economic activities is not protected against political interference through fundamental legislation guaranteeing his personal freedom and inviolability, and through the constitutional character of the fundamental institutions of civil and commercial law, economy based upon private action lacks the firm ground upon which it can rationally calculate, act, and forecast. The rational, cost-accounting character of the profit-seeking, capitalistic system makes it particularly necessary that the individual be protected against an arbitrary and sudden shift as to what is private in economy and, therefore, his, and what is public. The definition of the orbit of private activity as against the orbit of public activity can give to the former larger space in one country, smaller in another, and actually has, in fact, always done so. However, business must know what the principles are in this respect. A reasonably clear and definite set-up of that demarcation line between private and public law, private and public activities, checking over-lapping tendencies of the latter, is fundamentally important in an economy which by its very nature joins the present and the future through time-taking, roundabout ways of production, time-requiring processes of distribution, and speculative transactions. Whenever abnormal and fundamentally new conditions in social life ask for increased governmental activity and intervention, it is of the foremost importance for the final revival of private business to know whether the new principles of governmental policy with regard to private business are to be terminated after a relatively short period of transition or continue in a state of uncertainty. With a protracted insecurity as to the future political and legal framework of private business, the latter is likely to become

more and more devitalized and the economic structure is likely to slide into a state socialistic stage.

Furthermore, the business system is dependent upon the management of the political system insofar as the state, under generally acknowledged principles of the economic frame of modern society, has the right to take part of the net proceeds of private economy—or in other words, of the national dividend—in the form of duties and taxes, and to do this on the foundation of its mere political power. However, no private economic system can subsist when the state suddenly and arbitrarily increases the amount of taxation to a degree where it brings about confiscation of private income and property and kills the chances for gainful private activity, thereby smashing the very motivating power which drives the capitalistic social economic machine. To avoid this is an underlying political condition of the capitalistic system which only the political order, not business itself, can guarantee. In many capitalistic states, constitutional norms try to procure institutional protection of business in this respect. I am thinking particularly about the right of parliaments to vote taxes and duties and the corresponding appropriations, stipulations which were originally ideated in a capitalistically-minded society with parliaments constituted by unequal franchise in order to prevent sudden and arbitrary increases in public expenses and forces encroaching on business.

Of perhaps no less importance than stability in property and contractual rights and the absence of over-lapping and confiscating tendencies in government and public financing is the stability of the monetary medium and measure of value used in business transactions. This should be kept stable in order to link rationally calculated and forecasted economic proc-

seses through time and space without disturbing and distorting influences.

Now, the maintenance of a stable currency and a credit system set up and managed in order to provide a stable currency nationally, and eventually internationally, is entirely a political task performed for business by the agencies of the political order, particularly by the state and government, and by central banks which are, if not legally, at least actually dependent upon governmental policies.

It is really nothing short of a miracle that an economic system relying upon such precarious and delicate political conditions should have found these during the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, not only nationally but internationally, where no consistent and centralized political body existed but only the political competition of sovereign nations. It is even more amazing that it should have found those conditions to such a degree that most people did not even realize the logical and actual necessity of political organization, and believed that society was ordered, coördinated, and harmonized by economy, whereas, as a matter of fact, rather the reverse was always true. This miraculous coincidence of two spheres of social life which are by no means necessarily conforming, was and is the precarious condition of the ordered and fruitful functioning of modern society.

#### NEED FOR CLOSE CONFORMITY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MODERN SOCIETY

In fact, this society asks for a much higher degree of harmony between the political sphere and the economic one than earlier historical stages, and does so for the mere subsistence of the economic system as well as of the political and social body at

large. During the nineteenth century the relative stability of legal and monetary conditions, not only within the field of big nations and states, but even in the greater part of the world, together with the development of modern technology in production and transportation, on the basis of applied science and rational thinking, and an immensely efficient credit system have raised living standards to unprecedented heights, and at the same time to unprecedented artificiality. They have brought about a social system of production which is immensely superior in productivity to any earlier one. This is because it has opened up for human use the wide realm of inorganic nature together with the organic one, far more than any pre-scientific production could do. (See for this W. Sombart in "Der Moderne Kapitalismus" and "Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft" im 19 Jahrh.) Furthermore, this social system of production is based largely upon international and intercontinental division of labor. In both its organic and technical aspects and its international connections it is of extraordinary complexity.

As a matter of fact, the particular historical features of the rise of this international system from European origins and under European leadership have led to a tremendous concentration of wealth and of population in the leading countries, far beyond what could be achieved from their own national resources as exploited by primitive technological methods. The leading crowded nations are living on the results of an intensive scientific production which only the highest and constantly re-created technical ability can maintain. They live on the profits of international and intercontinental division of labor in which they hitherto had the lion's share for reasons political as well as economic.

It does not suffice for the maintenance of

modern economy and modern civilization living upon it that the scientific and technological findings and results, once achieved, be mechanically transmitted from generation to generation. This is not even feasible. A technique of the present-day standards can only be maintained and adapted to constantly developing and changing practical needs in society, when this technical creation and adaptation is accompanied and borne by a parallel progress of creative activity in science. Science is the living soul of the modern age of energy and its social process of production and distribution. When the soul dies and petrifies the body must very soon decay. Therefore, modern economy is not only dependent on political conditions insofar as they provided national and international political, legal, monetary, etc., stability, it is also dependent, then, upon the provisions and durability of social conditions under which creative science can subsist.

The breakdown of modern technique and mass production as well as the disruption of international markets would threaten the crowded national societies built upon them with deprivation and even starvation to a degree which would be bound to smash the political frame as well as the economic order of highly civilized and, therefore, highly sensitive societies. With regard to this sensitivity, it is particularly important that modern civilization has largely reduced the efficiency of family, class, and neighborhood as relief organizations, and that modern mechanized, specialized, and socially divided work and the separation of the property of capital goods from labor, and of production from consumption, makes everybody highly dependent on the smooth functioning of the whole social machine.

This artificiality and delicacy of eco-

nomic society is an absolutely new condition. In all former periods, private economy was either entirely—or at least in part—self-sufficient home production. For the rest, it was at least in those commodities which are important for everyday living—that is to say, not of a luxury character—mostly small-scale production for small areas. It was, as a rule, done with the workers' own tools, relying upon primitive methods and mostly local materials. It, therefore, had not nearly the same degree of dependence on the stability of a national and also of an international political, legal, monetary, and public-finance system and of its compatibility with the political order as our modern capitalistic economy has. Private economy was less fragile under the impact of political forces and disturbances.

On the other hand, economic disturbances could not so easily develop into political riots and rebellions of importance. As long as the isolated local economic entities and small market units suffered in isolation, misgivings could not become a general political danger, at least not for a strong, centralized political force. Only in small communities, economic and social organizations, as the craft guilds, became a danger when usurping political power and misusing it for their particular interests. In mediaeval feudalism, too, the direct constitutional linking of political rights and obligations and landed property proved a disintegrating influence. In general, however, the economic system as such did not develop politically destructive forces even not in those rare cases where large-scale production existed. In the pre-scientific civilization before natural science and its totalitarian conception of cosmic powers and material was applied to production of goods for human needs, mass production and large-scale transportation for and over wide

areas invariably relied upon cumulated and combined enslaved human labor. It, therefore, relied on the political order providing slavery and could not rebel against the latter.

#### IMPORTANCE OF FUNDAMENTAL ETHICAL PRINCIPLES FOR THE SOCIAL ORDER

It is the real problem of our times that not only actually legal, monetary, and financial stability is disrupted and international connections of markets through a solidaristic liberal "foreign trade policy" are destroyed, but also that the sense for their importance in the set-up of our society seems to be waning. More fundamentally, the notion of the interplay between the moral, intellectual, and material activities in society is going to be lost. Tendencies in our society seem to grow which despise traditional religious creed, inherited moral principles, esthetic refinement, as well as scientific work and creation, and bring about an atmosphere wherein often narrow-minded mediocrity and often anti-social elements set the standards, whereas the creative genius is in danger of being suffocated. (See Ortéga by Ganet's brilliant essay on *The Revolt of the Masses*.) This applies to economic performance as well as to the other spheres of life. Whereas in a society of sound hierarchic structure the socially creative forces are enhanced, the egalitarian individualism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tends to submerge them under chaotic mass activities which can only be influenced by demagogic means.

In order to really understand this situation and to find and weigh the chances of its improvement, we have to remind ourselves that the foundations of our Western national and international social system and of its vigor and unity cannot be found in the economic structure of that society, but only in the spiritual principle which

underlies it in all its aspects, economic as well as cultural and political.

The principles of private economy as such are of a rational, materialistic, and naturally egoistic character, its main aim being to procure an income, a supply for individual consumption in the present generation. This cannot build up social order at large.

From a mere individualistic and egoistic rational point of view of the short-lived animal which is man, no reason can be found why material gain should not be sought by anti-social practices which lead to the desired result often much faster than decent work in fair competition; and no reason can be found why the individual should not concentrate the material proceeds of his activities on his personal needs, and why work should not be stopped when personal needs are supplied, instead of practicing the social virtues so fundamentally important to capitalism, which are ascetic diligence and thrift for the sake of super-personal needs and requirements of many generations. That they are still practiced is only due to surviving religious, national, family, and otherwise social allegiance. It is the predominant kind of this allegiance which decides about the character, strength, and activity of economic life as well as of the social life in general.

That this national and international unified and consistent system of material civilization which is Western capitalism could be built nationally and internationally and that it could be maintained in spite of being in full-grown capitalistic countries and societies the legal and political order of a minority of proprietors, and in spite of being a system imposed by certain Western countries on the rest of the world, is indeed only due to the strength and unifying and coördinating power of the spiritual principle underlying



it. And this principle is nothing else than the fundamental principle of Christianity in the shape it has taken in recent centuries.

A highly developed civilization depends for its unity and continuity on the maintenance of a set of axiomatic a priori ideas underlying its framework, maintaining the authority of institutions, and setting not only limits, but also common standards and goals to individual and social activities of its constituents. Our whole Western world is bound together, framed and directed by the spiritual unity of its common belief in the capacity and destiny of mankind to progress and to improve, or, to say it in terms of religious faith, to develop itself into a more and more nearly perfect manifestation of the Eternal Spirit. Developed in the main on the basis of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies and of Christian revelation, creed, and doctrine, that civilization has as its fundament the ideas of the priority of the Spiritual over the Material of Mind over Matter, and the freedom of the created spirit which is man, his choice in action whether creative or destructive and, therefore, his moral responsibility. This moral responsibility is closely linked with the conception of individuality and personality. It is individually that man reflects the light of the Absolute Creative Spirit in his ability to make new combinations and to inaugurate actively new processes in the given natural order of things, and that he is responsible for doing so in a way that leads not only to his personal improvement but also to that of the social entity to which he belongs. He is individually endowed, in other words, with a special dignity among all creatures through his capacity to partially conceive the Spiritual and to work according to its principles. He is also consequently endowed with individual

moral responsibility. He is committed to seek the good, the true, and the beautiful; in other words, the order ("ordo") as conceived by the Spirit. To this order and the consequences drawn therefrom belong his natural allegiance to social bodies as a social being, and the mutual respect and furtherance to which he is committed with his fellowmen. Thus the ideas of individuality and personality, and of their divine dignity, main pillars of Occidental civilization, are in absolute concordance with the idea that man is by nature a social being and socially allegiant, and that family, people, and state are organic social entities as they are the necessary result of the social nature of man. However, man has the liberty to revolt against this principle of the natural order and, therefore, it is due to his individual free will and creative action that the social order can come to pass and can thrive. From this point of view, social allegiance by necessity remains an individual obligation, and social harmony the result of the conformity and co-operation according to the eternal natural principles of social order ("ordo") between self-responsible and free individuals.

The idea nowadays so widespread, that the social body as such is the only super-reality in human life and that the human being has importance and dignity only as a part of the social entity to which he is naturally inalienably allegiant in *passive* obedience and regimented discipline, particularly the idea of the totalitarian state, is entirely alien to the fundamental philosophic principles of Occidental civilization. These principles do not exclude the centralistic and authoritarian state as long as it is "Rechtsstaat" recognizing a sphere of individual rights and liberty, and feeling committed to legal principles which are derived from the basic ideas of civilization. They do exclude, however,

the totalitarian state which seeks the source of law only within itself and negates any private right outside those it chooses fit to grant to the individual. The totalitarian state is alien to those principles insofar as it leads by necessity to a particularistic conception of life, making special social entities such as nations, races, etc., into absolute and final values and even into deities. The spiritual conception of the Occidental civilization, however, leading back to the idea of one and a unique Creative Spirit is by necessity universalistic.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN WESTERN WORLD

Developed in the mediaeval Catholic Church in the entirely transcendental form of the universal "res publica Christiana," including the living and the dead, universalism was brought down from the Roman Empire through the Middle Ages to modern times. In the sweep of the secular move of which Renaissance, humanism, and the enlightened age are other phases, and which after new momentum through the opening up of new horizons in the age of discoveries, the Reformation particularly in the Puritan, Quaker, and Baptist forms brought this conception down to earth. Even where the Reformation in its original form had no immediate bearing on practical and particularly on economic activities, as, for instance, with Lutheranism, through its later evolution and secular decay it brought along an individualistic spirit favorable to capital-

<sup>1</sup> These ideas were recently set forth consistently by Theodor Haeckel in *Was ist der Mensch*, Leipzig, 1933. On the basis of the same philosophy the eminent Spanish jurist, Don Adolfo Posada in his recent book on *La Crisis del Estado*, Madrid, Bermejo, 1934, most brilliantly developed the moral and legal principles governing the Occidental society which are derived therefrom and has shown the decay of allegiance to these principles as an underlying cause of the present perturbation of the Western world.

ism. This spirit did not fail to bring about a lasting influence even on modern Catholic communities.<sup>2</sup> Men began to seek the one and unique Lord, and their redemption in Him, not only beyond this world but in this earthly life and in their earthly performances.

In the practical world, however, there are historical and natural differentiations which cannot be wiped out by unity of thought, but which can be and actually were, submitted to the supreme unity of Christian endeavor and thought. This new Christianity, seeking to realize and to find God in this world and in daily living more than their mediaeval forbears did, was by necessity articulated in territories, states and nations, classes and professions.

In spite of its individualistic philosophy, the Reformation strengthened the state, since the reformers strove to defend politically the freedom of individual conscience against the universalistic and dogmatic claims of the Papal church and, therefore, had to back the state against Rome. Thus, though fundamentally individualistic in its spiritual side, in its claim for individual responsibility and freedom of man before God, the Reformation, nevertheless, favored the articulation of Christian humanity, united by the common worship of the unique principle governing the world into nations, terri-

<sup>2</sup> See R. H. Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Harcourt, Brace, 1926, particularly the first part; Harold Laski's *Foundation of Sovereignty*, Yale University Press, 1921, particularly pp. 1-26; Schultze-Gaevernitz' *Zur Wiedergeburt des Abend Landes*, E. Runge, Berlin, 1935, particularly p. 44. The importance of the Christian faith to the development of the Western world is described in detail by E. Rosenstock in *Die Europaischen Revolutionen*, Jena, 1931. After having written these pages the present author found his views corroborated by Mr. Rosenstock, and equally by H. Rommer in his excellent book, *Der Staat in der Katholischen Gedankenwelt*.

ories, and states, according to national, historical, and linguistic differentiations.

This is a condition of the extremely imperialistic expansive power which Christian civilization has taken on since. Only this articulation into smaller groups made the Christian society efficient and capable of a practical and expansive conquest and exploration of the world. With these groups men are more intensively and narrowly bound together by what they have specifically in common; disciplined and drawn together by those more immediate values which the average man finds easier to venerate than the final ones, as they are nearer to everyday experience and observation and corroborated not only by metaphysical faith and rational thinking but by instinct and emotional allegiance.

Driven not only by jealous strife for more wealth and power against each other and against limited resources of their territory, and accessible markets, but also by their missionary spirit, the European territories and states explored and conquered large parts of the globe. Set free from the limits and boundaries of mediaeval thinking, seeking the eternal principle not only in a humble acceptance of the divine revelation and its tradition by the Church, but in a rational understanding and exploration of this general miracle which is the law-obeying, consistent frame-work of nature, they started for its scientific exploration and conquest. This scientific conquest was followed immediately and turned into profit by the technical application of scientific findings in the production for human needs.

At the same time, in the way which has been particularly well set forth by German scholars such as Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, Sombart, and Schulze-Gaevernitz, and in England by Tawney, Christian faith and zeal was turned into active,

diligent, thrifty economic work. That type of most efficient capitalistic spirit was built where the sense of individual freedom and responsibility is legitimated, disciplined, and directed by the notion of economic work as a social and finally a religious obligation.

It was this spirit which, together with Occidental science and technology, conquered the world for the Christian states and did so during the nineteenth century under Anglo-Saxon Protestant leadership, particularly under the leadership of "God's Own Country"—England.<sup>3</sup>

Of course, the differentiation and articulation of this world into nations, states, and, later, economic classes, made for much internal friction which occasionally broke out into wars, revolutions, and civil war. However, since the fundamental notion of the common spiritual goal was everywhere maintained, though sometimes only in its more secularized form of the modern creed of the peaceful progress of mankind on the lines of Western civilization, this spiritual unity again and again overcame the inner contrasts and difficulties and built up the common overwhelming force of the European system.

Particular notions such as those of race, common language, common nationality, common profession of common social class conditions, destructive and chaotic as they are when taken as absolute and final and made the idol and object of religious veneration, are fruitful and creative only when regarded as subordinate to the final organic unity of the Occidental civilization and fundamental idea of an always progressing realization to which they belong, and are allegiant in a similar way as the individual directly belongs and is committed to them.

History never stands still. The funda-

<sup>3</sup> About the consciously European tendency in English Imperialism see E. Rosenstock, *ibid.*, p. 291.

mental principles of our civilization are ever expressing themselves in new forms. They will do so according to the predominant needs of each epoch and each country. Sometimes particular emphasis will be laid on individual performance in serving it. Other times will call for organized, more or less collectivistic effort, and will give a more collectivistic tendency to our idealism and endeavors. It seems to me, however, that nothing can subsist and flourish in our civilization which is incompatible with its fundamental principle of individual personality and human responsibility for action.

In order to maintain the unity and strength of this civilization in spite of subdivisions and inner contrasts and in spite of the necessity of constant readjustments to changing circumstances, a further social condition must exist. This is the hierarchic frame of society. This is true by no means only for authoritarian monarchic or oligarchic communities but, as a matter of fact, is just as much a necessity and a reality in thriving democratic republics. As I said before, all highly developed civilization rests upon a set of axiomatic conceptions and their consistent development and coördination according to their unifying basic principle. To achieve this within a system of civilization which is complex and changing in its different spiritual, rational, intellectual, and material aspects asks for a very high degree of consciousness of the frame and immanent consistency of the civilization on the part of those who handle it. This can hardly be expected of the average man, who has mostly an emotional and traditional adherence to the values of his social community, but hardly a clear understanding of their framework, interconnection, and of the dangerous consequences which acts, inconsistent with that framework, can bring about. Creative work in the sense of our Occidental

civilization built upon Christianity can be done only by a leading group specially educated and trained for the purpose.

The health, efficiency, and progress of a social community, and particularly of a nation, therefore, do not depend on the passive loyalty of the bulk of citizens only; they depend very largely on the degree to which the leading group is imbued with and conscious of the necessities and laws and final humanitarian goals of the particular national civilization it manages and defends, and how true and loyal and efficient it is in serving its purpose. Such a group, conscious of the importance of those traditional axioms underlying the whole fabric of civilization and of the implications which changes in any of them bring about in the whole field of social life, and at the same time emotionally strongly tied up with it, I call aristocracy.

That social order is not only consistent in institutions but in certain mental, moral, and esthetic attitudes which are mutually dependent on each other. An aristocracy is as good as its sense for, and loyalty to, this all-embracing interconnection. These qualities are sometimes acquired within a hereditary class of society by family tradition, sheltered by privilege. However, this is by no means necessary. Generations without any biological connection or uniformity of social origin and refinement can be trained and educated into the mental habits and norms of those who function as the aristocratic elite. Very often, of course, such a body is recruited in large parts from hereditary aristocracy and then the two principles feed on each other. Examples of efficient aristocratic institutions are the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and other churches, the Prussian and German Bureaucracy, the British Civil Service, etc. For aristocracy in this sense, the possession of a legal title of nobility is immaterial.

Aristocracy and liberty condition each



other mutually. Order and continuity and stability in social life always rely on discipline and sacrifice of individual egoistic interest for the lasting benefit and stability of society. It cannot exist without self-controlled, self-restraining, and socially constructive tendencies of an aristocratic group which thinks, moves, and lives in terms of super-individual norms, tasks, and aims characteristic and fundamental to a specific civilization. Either such aristocratic standards are voluntarily accepted in a free society or the mere prevention of chaos brought about by anti-social behavior of a misguided mob of all classes and descriptions, enforces regimentation as the only means to maintain society, at least in its material frame.

As I said before, this importance of an aristocratic element applies just as well where the legal set-up of the constitution is democratic. It is even particularly important there because society can bear the absence of governmental coercion and regimentation only where other factors in society outside of the government make for conventional discipline and order according to aristocratic principles and forces by which they are led.

Under certain circumstances, for instance in a democracy of independent peasants with their natural tendency to think in the interests of many generations inheriting their property, everybody may have these aristocratic qualities. In other cases of a more complete, more urbanized, diversified society rendered fragmentary by social division of labor, exposed to the dehumanizing effect of extreme mechanization of factory and home, they are as a rule, more strongly developed and prevalent in certain groups.

Undoubtedly, in modern democratic societies, as in England and America, the coördinating and disciplining social forces, among others, are provided by the

churches; in England, particularly so by the Anglican church with its highly hierarchic and aristocratic character which, in turn, reflects the traditional feudal hierarchy of England. They are provided, furthermore, by certain academic institutions which, largely originating from the church, have been imbued not only with the sense of earnest scientific research but also with the sense for social and civic obligation, and educate their pupils and students to this very notion. These men, later on, fill not only the ranks of academic and professional life but, in recent times, leading positions in business also. Furthermore, the English and American idea of the gentleman as a man of consciously social, creative behavior, attitude and activity, works to the same effect. This idea, going back in its origin, in part, beyond the Reformation into the world of mediaeval, feudal chivalry, has been very fortunately combined with the democratic spirit of modern communities and particularly of pioneering communities, such as that of the United States. This goal of social refinement and improvement has been, as such, democratized and accepted as a common ideal standard of the whole nation.

The combination of a highly democratic legal constitution with a social character separate from the government, which makes for social discipline, order, and consistency, is particularly favorable for the development of capitalism because capitalism, as we have seen, presupposes a clear line of demarcation between public and private activities, public and private rights, and absence of governmental overlapping and arbitrary interference. Now, as a matter of fact, tendencies to such overlapping and interference are much stronger where the responsibility for social order centers in the state government and the bureaucracy which have a natural tendency to extend their activities, par-

ticularly where they are efficient; whereas those other alternative forces outside of the government cannot have these expansive tendencies in anything near the same degree. However, these extra-governmental forces for social order are sufficient in a highly developed big national society only under very fortunate conditions, where free space for expansion makes for lack of inner friction and where no danger of forceful intervention from outside exists. Otherwise, society seems to have to rely more or less on the stronger forces of coercion provided by the state, which as the main representative of social life in the modern world can command the strongest unreflective emotional motives and, therefore, also can develop the greatest material coercive power.

A state built upon mere force of a minority against the will of the majority is never possible in the long run. The legal and moral force of a government, which sanctions its material power and the sacrifices required therefor, always relies on the consent of the citizens, whether they agree nationally on a supposedly contractual basis, or on a metaphysical basis, submitting to the legitimate authority of the government and its alleged divine rights, or simply in an unreflective emotional way. The modern state, with the strong collectivistic tendency of our times, easily will find that popular support. It is, however, of much importance that it finds at the same time the aristocratic elements and forces apt to direct the popular impulse into the right channels and that is by no means equally certain. The attempt to build up artificially new elite groups, which we witness in several countries, is extremely difficult where it cannot rely upon the standards developed by former leading groups.

Whether the hierarchic and aristocratic set-up is more or less extra-governmental

or intra-governmental, it is absolutely necessary in order to maintain and keep the complex social machinery going.

It is especially important with regard to the maintenance of modern science which, in turn, is vital for the continuity of the complicated political and legal and technical machinery of our civilization. Only in selected groups and under moral and intellectual standards of living, which hardly can become the actually accomplished standards of the whole population, are the highest creative accomplishments in science possible.

Here, a short remark might fit, in order to avoid misunderstandings. The foregoing explanation of the importance of a hierarchical and aristocratic element in society for its constant re-creation might lead to the conclusion that aristocracy is the unique factor making for order. This would be a misstatement. Aristocracy, though indispensable for the dynamic adjustment of a civilization to new situations according to lasting principles, can be and actually is supplemented by the passive forces of tradition and loyalty and by the force of inertia of laws, institutions, and habits, maintaining the social order in the more static daily routine of life. The system of checks and balances and the particularly conservative functions of the Supreme Court in constitutional matters furnish an American example. Another American example of this force of inertia is the maintenance of the two-party system through the two existing party machines, which make the development of a third party difficult, thereby blocking a very common way of disrupting and changing a constitution.

By way of conclusion a brief recapitulation may be useful. The competitive economic system does not rely upon itself and much less does it build the frame of society and culture at large. It is embed-

ded in the spiritual, moral, political, and legal system of society. It must be, together with this, disciplined, animated, and unified by fundamental conceptions of our civilization. Its smooth and vigorous operation largely depends upon social and political conditions at large being compatible with the economic constitution of the competitive system relying on private interest and initiative. Such are: First, political conditions maintaining nationally and internationally a clear and relatively stable demarcation between the field of public activity and the field of business and a clear cut between public law and commercial and civil law; second, protection of business from overtaxation and monetary instability through well-ordered public finance in all the main capitalistic states; third, interconnection of international markets and price systems and a consistent operation of international credit and monetary standards.

The capitalistic system could only meet with so miraculously favorable and com-

patible social conditions all over the world because it is itself one of the expressions of the spirit which gives unity and vigor to that Occidental civilization which conquered the world during the last few centuries. With this unity in spirit making for compatibility and consistency between the different spheres of life, European society was able to develop its predominant rôle in the world as well in the political as in the cultural and the economic fields.

Moreover, the system could be maintained only when in all countries leading groups equally interested in the development of capitalistic life defended it. These groups, however, were able to maintain themselves and their positions only as long as they possessed the aristocratic quality of a consciousness for the consistency and logic of the set-up of Occidental civilization, not only in its economy, but in all its aspects, and the sense for its final values.

## CHURCH SECTS AND PARTIES<sup>1</sup>

GAETANO MOSCA

*Rome, Italy*

(Translated by H. D. Kahn)

### I

**B**UFFON tells us that if a certain number of deer are penned in a park they will inevitably divide into two herds always at war with each other. An instinct very like this seems to operate among men.

This instinct is the basis and the pri-

<sup>1</sup>This paper is adapted from a chapter in the author's *Elementi di Scienza Politica*, originally published in 1895. It is unaltered in the second edition of 1923, which will shortly appear in translation in this country.—*Editors*.

meval foundation both of conflicts between different societies and of factions, sects, parties; in a certain sense also of the various churches, and of all the divisions and subdivisions within a single society that occasion moral and, sometimes, physical conflicts. In very small and primitive societies, in which there is moral and intellectual unity and every individual has the same customs, the same beliefs, the same superstitions, this instinct alone may suffice to maintain discord and war. The Arabs and Kabyles of Barbary, for ex-

ample, have the same religious beliefs, the same degree and the same type of intellectual and moral culture; and yet before the consolidation of the French domination, when they were not fighting against the infidel in Algeria and Tunis, against the Turks in Tripoli, and against the Sultan in Morocco, they were always in conflict with each other. In large and civilized societies held together not only by moral and intellectual affinity but by a strong and complicated political organization, much greater speculative and affective liberty is possible. Accordingly, political and religious conflicts arise also from the multiplicity of ideas, beliefs, and attachments that succeed in asserting themselves; from intellectual and moral crucibles within which individual convictions and sentiments are variously elaborated.

So we see Buddhism develop within Brahman society; we see the life of Israel agitated by the Prophets, later by the various schools of the Sadducees and the Essenes and the sect of Zealots; we see Stoicism, Manichaeism, Christianity, and Mithraism contending for supremacy in the Roman-Hellenic world, Mazdaism propagated in the Persia of the Sassanides, Mohammedanism born in Arabia and spreading rapidly in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Perfectly analogous phenomena, though adapted to the more rationalistic character of modern European civilization, are the liberalism and radicalism of the nineteenth century, better still social democracy. Social democracy, although it was born almost contemporaneously with liberalism, has maintained its propaganda force longer. It has been one of the most significant historic factors in the nineteenth century and will continue to be in the first decades of the twentieth. It would be easy to trace many other minor currents that have been more or less

successfully diffused, that have achieved a certain importance and have helped to feed the instincts of dispute, struggle, sacrifice, and persecution, so rooted in the hearts of men.

There is something constant in the method of origin of all these doctrines, currents of ideas, sentiments, convictions. Man who is so weak in the face of his own passions and of the passions of others, often more egotistical than necessity warrants, usually vain, envious, petty, retains almost invariably two great aspirations, two sentiments which ennoble and purify him; the search for truth and the love of justice.

At certain historic moments in a given society an individual may emerge with the conviction that he has something new to say in the search for truth, a loftier doctrine to teach for the better realization of justice. Given certain native endowments, a favorable environment, and many accidental circumstances, this individual is the tiny seed which may produce the plant that will spread its branches over a large part of the world.

## II

History has not always preserved the biographical details of these founders of religions and political-social schools which, after all, are really religions shorn of the theological element. Some, however, we know rather well; Mohammed, for example, Luther, Calvin, Rousseau above all, can be analyzed with relative ease.

Their one indispensable quality is the profound conviction of their own importance or, better, of the efficacy of their work. If they believe in God, they will always consider themselves destined by the Omnipotent to reform, religion and humanity at large. Indisputably, then, it is not in them that we can look for perfect balance

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of all the intellectual and moral faculties, but neither can they be considered insane if for no other reason than that insanity presupposes an earlier state of sanity. They are, rather, classifiable among eccentrics for exaggerating the importance of certain phases of life and staking their maximum effort, their entire existence, on a single card. But obviously the man whose faculties are perfectly balanced, who calculates exactly the results to be attained in relation to the effort and sacrifice necessary for their attainment, who takes a modest and sensible view of his own importance, of the real and lasting effect which his activity can have on the world in the ordinary course of human events, who estimates coolly and accurately the probabilities for and against his success, will never initiate a bold and daring enterprise, will never do great things. If all men were normal and well-balanced, the history of the world would be very different, and, we must confess, very monotonous.

The quality that is fundamental in the head of a party, the founder of a sect or a religion, and in general, we may say, in any popular leader who wants to make his own personality felt and to guide a society in accordance with his views, is the capacity to infuse into others his own convictions, above all his own sentiments, to make his own intellectual and moral life the pattern of their life, to the end that they may perform sacrifices for the ideals that he has conceived.

This faculty for communicating sentiment and passion is not common to all reformers; regardless of their originality, those who lack it are ineffectual in practical life and often prove themselves of the category of innovators without a following, of misunderstood geniuses who barely escape ridicule. Those who do possess it on the other hand, know not only how to

inspire their apostles and the masses with their own enthusiasms to the point even of frenzy, but they succeed in evoking a sort of veneration for their own persons and in becoming the objects of a real cult whereby their least act takes on importance, their every word is believed without discussion, their every nod is blindly obeyed. There forms about them an aura of exaltation that is highly contagious, that inspires acts of daring and sacrifice which would be impossible in a normal mental state.

Moreover an absolutely exquisite moral sense presiding uniformly over all the acts of his life, is not to be sought in every great innovator for it is not always to be found. Absorbed almost exclusively in the pursuit of his ideal, he is ready to suffer for it and to make others suffer for it. Indeed he generally disdains or at least ignores the everyday needs, the material and immediate interests of life and—even when he does not expressly say so—in his heart he always censures those who sow, who reap and store away the harvest, because he believes that once his conception of the reign of God or of truth and justice is established, men's needs will be as easily satisfied as the needs of the birds and the fish. When he lives in rationalistic and ostensibly more realistic times, he takes no account of the drain on the public treasury which would result from the mere attempt to realize his ideals.

In this connection three periods must be distinguished in the life of the great reformer. The first is the period in which his doctrine is conceived and ripens in his mind. During this stage he is capable of perfect good faith, he may be accused of fanaticism but not of duplicity and charlatanry. The second period begins with his preaching; then the necessity of *impressing* others compels him inevitably to exaggeration and so to *pose*. The third

period comes when he is so fortunate as to be able to attempt the practical realization of his teachings.

Once this last stage is reached, he finds himself of necessity in direct contact with all the imperfections and weaknesses of human nature and he must, if he wants to succeed, suffer a moral decline. Then all reformers agree deep in their hearts that the end justifies the means, that men are not to be led without a little deception. Compromise leads to compromise and the time comes when even the most acute psychologist finds it hard to distinguish where sincere conviction ends and *mise-en-scène* and rascality begin.

### III

Alongside the individual who first conceives a new doctrine, there is always a more or less numerous group which receives the word directly from the master and is profoundly imbued with his sentiments. Every Messiah must have his apostles, for man has need of society in almost all his moral and material activities; there is no enthusiasm which is not spent, no faith which does not waver under prolonged isolation. The school, the church, the agape, the lodge—the regular meeting, by whatever name it may be called, of a group of persons who feel and think in the same way, who have the same enthusiasms, the same hates, the same loves, the same interpretation of life—intensifies, exalts, and develops their sentiments and so integrates them in the character of every single individual as to render its stamp indelible.

It is ordinarily within this directing group that the primitive inspiration of the master is developed, refined, supplemented, so as to become a real political, religious, or philosophical system, purged of too obvious inconsistencies and contradictions. It is within this group that the sacred fire

of propaganda is tended even after the first author of the doctrine has vanished; and it is to this spontaneously recruited nucleus that the future of the new doctrine is entrusted. For notwithstanding the master's originality, the strength of his feelings, and his aptitude for propaganda, all these qualities are ineffective if he has not founded a school before his material or spiritual death; whereas when the breath that animates this school is vigorous and potent, all defects and flaws that may be discovered later can be corrected or forgotten while propaganda continues active and effective.

Outside the directing nucleus is the crowd of proselytes. While it constitutes the larger element numerically and supplies Church or party with its material and even its economic strength, it is intellectually and morally the more negligible factor in the establishment of any political or religious doctrine. The masses are not easily swayed by a new doctrine and are extremely reluctant to abandon it later. When that occurs, the fault lies almost always with the directing nucleus, for it is within that nucleus that indifference and skepticism first creep in. The best way to make others believe is to be oneself imbued with profound conviction, the art of arousing passion lies in being intensely impassioned. When the priest does not feel his faith, the people become indifferent and embrace another doctrine that has more zealous ministers. If the officer is not imbued with military spirit, if he is not ready to give his life for the dignity of his flag, the common soldier will not fight. If the leaders are not fanatic, they cannot lead the crowd to rebellion. Yet there are doctrines in themselves well adapted to proselytism, and others less well adapted. Indeed, there are three factors on which the wide diffusion of a political or religious teaching depends almost exclusively. The

first consists in its adaptability to a given historic moment. The second is commensurate with its capacity for satisfying the greatest number of human passions, sentiments, and inclinations, especially of those that are most widely diffused and most firmly rooted in the masses. The third, finally, is the quality of organization of the ruling nucleus, made up of all the individuals that are devoted particularly to the maintenance and diffusion of the spirit which informs a given doctrine.

## IV

For a doctrine to be adapted to a given historic moment in a given society, it must correspond first of all to the degree of maturity which the human spirit has attained at that moment and in that society. A monotheistic religion will easily triumph when the mind has so far advanced as to grasp that a single force rules the universe and that all natural phenomena may be attributed to a single cause. Rationalism will be the basis of other doctrines when free inquiry and the findings of natural and social science have invalidated the content of revealed religions and the conception of a God, created in the image and likeness of man, who intervenes arbitrarily in human events.

When men have a certain culture and when above all they are not crushed under the pressure of material needs, they tend generally toward higher interests that involve the society to which they belong and rise superior to the ordinary preoccupations of life. If we bear this in mind, we can readily perceive that it is much easier for a new doctrine to take hold where this tendency cannot be nourished by existing political organization and where, accordingly, enthusiasms, ambitions, desire to fight and to take the lead, can scarcely find vent. Christianity, for

example, would certainly not have spread so rapidly when republican Rome was able to offer its citizens the emotional experiences of electoral campaigns or when it was waging its terrible war with Carthage; so that it was imperial Rome that rendered the new religion the best possible service by assuaging the wars between nations, by entrusting all public functions to civil servants, and by preparing a long period of security and political repose. Similarly, in the past century, the consolidation of the bureaucratic state, the end of religious wars, the formation of a cultured and well-to-do class that was excluded from political functions, furnished the basis first for the liberal, and then for the radical Socialist movements.

It must also be admitted that a nation may find itself in a state of psychological exhaustion or repose so to speak. It is this same concept which we express, perhaps with less aptness of phrase, when we say that a nation is old or young. When a society has for some centuries undergone neither revolution nor serious political change, and is preparing to emerge from its long torpor, it is more easily convinced that the triumph of a new doctrine, the initiation of a new form of government, must mark the beginning of a new era, of a golden age or a promised land in which all men will become good and happy. Illusions endure, after all, because for most men illusion is a less material but no less vital need than many others; and so a system of illusions is not easily discredited until it is replaced by a new system. At times, when this is impossible, not even continued suffering, a series of terrible trials that is the fruit of more terrible experiences, will suffice to disabuse a people; or let us say the depression, rather than the delusion, will endure as long as the generation that has actually been afflicted; but scarcely are social

energies somewhat revived, when, unless there is a change in the direction of ideas and of sentiments, the same illusions produce new conflicts and new misfortunes. For the rest, it is in the nature of man to retain a favorable memory of times and of individuals during which or for whom he has suffered greatly; this occurs especially when many years have elapsed since his suffering. The masses in the end always admire and surround with legend those leaders who, like Napoleon I, have inflicted pain and misfortune, but who at the same time have appeased the need for emotion and the capricious thirst for novelty and greatness.

## V

Beyond the necessities of time and place to which we have already referred, the capacity of a doctrine to satisfy the needs of the human spirit depends also upon permanent conditions, upon true psychological laws that must be observed. In the success of new political and religious doctrines this is the second very important factor.

As a general rule, a system of ideas, of beliefs, of feelings, must, if it is to be accepted by great masses of mankind, answer on the one hand to the loftiest sentiments of the human spirit, must therefore promise a reign of justice and equality in this world or in the next, must proclaim that the good will be rewarded, the wicked punished. But at the same time it will not be amiss to yield some small satisfaction to envy and to the rancor that is generally felt toward the powerful and the fortunate—it will be very opportune to assert that in this life or in the next there will come a time when the last shall be first and the first shall be last. It will be enormously useful if some phase of the doctrine can offer a refuge to the good, gentle souls who seek comfort from

the conflicts and delusions of life in meditation and resignation. It will also be useful, even indispensable, to provide for some means of taking advantage of the spirit of abnegation and sacrifice that predominates in certain individuals, while the same doctrine must also leave scope for pride and for vanity.

Accordingly the believers must always be the "elect," or at least must represent the vanguard of real progress. So the Christian must be able to reflect with satisfaction that outside the faith all will be damned; the Brahman must be able to rejoice that he alone is descended from the head of Brahma and alone enjoys the highest honor of reading the sacred books; the Buddhist must highly prize the privilege of attaining Nirvana soonest; the Mohammedan must recall with satisfaction that he alone is the true believer, that all others are infidel dogs in this life and damned in the next; the radical Socialist, finally, must be convinced that all who do not think as he does are corrupt and selfish bourgeois or ignorant and servile weaklings. So the need is filled for highly esteeming oneself, one's own religion or convictions, and at the same time for despising and hating all others.

## VI

We have still to speak of the organization of the ruling nucleus and of the means it employs for converting the masses or keeping them faithful to a given belief or doctrine. As the reader will recall, this is the third of the factors on which depend the success and the duration of any religious or political system.

As we have already seen, the initial formation of the ruling nucleus in a new political or religious doctrine comes through spontaneous adaptation; subsequently its organization is based principally upon that phenomenon of the



human spirit to which we have already referred. We shall call it the miming instinct and it consists in the tendency of individual passions, sentiments, beliefs, to develop in accordance with the prevailing trend in the moral and spiritual environment. It is indeed entirely natural that in a people of a certain degree of culture, some proportion of the youth should be capable of enthusiasm for what it regards as true and ethical, for those ideas which, in appearance at least, are generous and lofty, which concern the destiny of the nation and of humanity. These sentiments and the spirit of abnegation and sacrifice which is their consequence, may remain in a state of mere potentiality and become atrophied, or undergo a splendid development, depending upon whether or not they are cultivated; and they may yield different fruits according to the different ways in which they are cultivated.

In the son of a retail merchant who has no other contact but with customers and clerks in his father's shop they will probably never have occasion to assert or show themselves unless we have to do with one of those superior and rare individuals who succeed in developing by themselves; while a young man who is religiously trained from his earliest years and educated subsequently in a Catholic seminary, may become a missionary who will consecrate his whole life to the triumph of the faith. Another, born into a titled family, educated in a military college, then as second lieutenant entering a regiment in which he finds companions and superiors imbued with the same convictions, will all his life think it his first and exclusive duty to obey the orders of his sovereign and, if need be, to die for him. And finally we have the man who was born among traditional conspirators and revolutionaries, who from childhood has thrilled and shuddered

at tales of political persecution and street fighting, whose intellectual training has been modeled on the writings of Rousseau, Mazzini, or Marx; he will hold sacred the struggle against oppression by organized government and for the revolution will face prison and the gallows. All this occurs because once the environment is formed—Catholic-ecclesiastical, bureaucratic-military, revolutionary—the individual, especially the youthful individual, who is not of absolutely superior intellect or of utterly commonplace spirit, will give his affective powers that bent which the environment indicates; so that certain sentiments rather than others will develop in the novice according to circumstances, the spirit of rebellion and of struggle, for example, in preference to the spirit of passive obedience and self-sacrifice. Education (the French would say *dressage*), as we have already indicated, succeeds better with the young than with the adult, with the enthusiastic and impassioned than with the cold, deliberate and calculating, with the docile than with the rebellious; except in cases in which the doctrine itself or the period of its propagation requires that the instinct of rebellion be cultivated.

One condition is primarily favorable and almost indispensable for the assimilation of individuals into the environment: the environment must be closed to all external influences, no sentiment and above all no idea that does not bear its trade-mark must be allowed to penetrate. True history must be completely banned, the history that is a sincere, objective record of facts, that teaches us to know and appraise men independently of their caste, their religion, or their political party, that takes account only of their weaknesses and their virtues, that trains and forms the sense of observation and reality.

Fundamentally we are dealing, then, only with a real lack of mental equilibrium

such as every environment induces in the recruit who is drawn within its orbit, to whom is offered only a partial picture of life, carefully examined, circumscribed and retouched, and which the neophyte takes for the whole of real life. Indeed the nations in which the critical spirit abounds and which are (justly, after all) skeptical as to the practical effects of new doctrines, never become the initiators of great social movements and are finally reluctantly dragged along by those that are more capable of enthusiasm; and the same thing happens, on closer observation, among individuals of the same nation, in which the more reflective are very frequently carried along by the more impulsive. For it does not always happen that the fools are led by the wise; often, indeed, the former force the latter to keep them company.

## VII

But once the heroic period of any institution, the period of initial propaganda, has passed, reflection and self-interest at once claim their rights. Enthusiasm, sacrifice, one-sidedness suffice to found religions and political parties, but are not sufficient to spread them widely nor to preserve them long. Then the method of recruiting the directing nucleus is modified, or, better, is supplemented, for among the individuals who compose it, there are always some who enter for purely idealistic considerations. But the age at which idealism is paramount passes quickly in the great majority of human beings, and something must also be found to satisfy ambition, vanity, the thirst for material pleasures. In a word, together with a core of ideas and sentiments, it is necessary to create a core of interests.

And here there reappears the theory of the alloy of pure metal with base which was formulated previously. In a ruling

nucleus which is really well organized, every kind of character must find his place: the man who wishes to sacrifice himself for others and the man who wishes to exploit his neighbor for his own benefit; the man who wishes to appear powerful and the man who wishes actually to be powerful without caring about appearances; the man who enjoys privation and the man who wishes to enjoy the pleasures of life. All these elements are fused and disciplined under a strong authoritarian regime, under which every individual knows that as long as he remains loyal to the ends and aims of the institution, his inclinations will be gratified, that if he rebels against it he may be destroyed morally and even materially. Such is the constitution of those social organisms that defy the most varied historic vicissitudes and endure for tens of centuries.

The mind reverts spontaneously to the Catholic Church, which has been and is the most robust and the most typical of all these organisms, and we cannot but admire the complexity and astuteness of its construction. The seminary student, the novice, the sister of charity, the missionary, the preacher, the mendicant friar, the wealthy abbot and the aristocratic monk, the country curate, the rich archbishop, sometimes even the sovereign prince, the cardinal who takes precedence over prime ministers, the pope who until a few centuries ago was one of the most powerful of temporal sovereigns, all have their place in it and their *raison d'être*.

## VIII

Once the ruling nucleus is organized, the systems may be various by which it seeks to win the masses over and keep them loyal to its doctrine. When there are no strong external or internal obstacles inherent in the very nature of a political or religious system, methods of propaganda

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based upon persuasion and the gradual education of the masses may yield results no less than those which resort to violence. Violence is, indeed, probably the quickest way of imposing convictions and ideas, but naturally it is necessary to be the stronger of two parties in order to use it.

In the nineteenth century the belief was widespread that force and persecution are of no avail to fight against doctrines founded on truth, doctrines to which the future belongs; and that they are equally useless against mistaken theories to which the popular mind metes out its own justice. Now to be frank, it is hard to find a more erroneous concept, a concept that is founded upon greater superficiality of observation and greater inexperience of historic facts than this one that we have just set forth; it seems to us one of those concepts which will make posterity laugh hardest behind our backs. That such a point of view should be preached by all parties and all sects before they hold the power within their grasp is easily understood, for the instinct of self-interest must lead them to profess this opinion; but the stupidity begins when it is accepted by others.

The example of Christianity is always recalled which triumphed in spite of persecutions, and of modern liberalism which conquered the tyrants who oppressed it. That merely shows that persecution badly managed cannot be all sufficing and that there are perhaps cases in which even force does not suffice to check a current of ideas; but the exception cannot serve as the basis for a general principle. The truth is that almost always—*notwithstanding* persecutions poorly managed, tardily undertaken, leniently and negligently conducted, may even further the triumph of a doctrine—pitiless, energetic persecution, directed

against the opposing doctrine the moment it shows itself, is the method best adapted to combatting it.

Christianity was not always persecuted energetically in the Roman Empire; it had its long periods of toleration, and the persecutions themselves were often only partial, that is, limited to some province; finally, it did not definitely triumph until an emperor with constituted authority began to favor it. Similarly, liberal propaganda was not only not hampered, but almost aided by governments from the middle of the eighteenth century down to the French Revolution. Later it was combatted only at intervals, and never simultaneously throughout the European world; it triumphed only when governments became converted or were overthrown by internal or external force.

In the face of these two doubtful examples, how many others are there decidedly contrary! Christianity itself in the beginning was hardly diffused beyond the confines of the Roman Empire. In Persia, for example, it was not accepted, not only because it found an obstacle in the national religion, but also because it was energetically persecuted. With fire and sword Charlemagne implanted it among the Saxons during an entire generation. The evangelization of the Roman Empire took centuries; a few years sufficed for the conversion of many barbarian countries because, once king and nobles were converted, the nation *en masse* bent its head to baptism. In this very prompt manner the cross was established in the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, in Poland, in Russia, in the Scandinavian countries, and in Lithuania. In the seventeenth century the Christian religion was almost extinguished in Japan by a pitiless and therefore effective persecution. By persecution Buddhism was uprooted from India, its homeland, Mazdaism from the Persia

of the Sassanides and Babism from modern Persia, the new religion of T'ai-p'ing from China. Thanks to persecution the Albigensians disappeared from southern France and Mohammedanism and Judaism were uprooted in Spain and Sicily. The Reformation really triumphed only in those countries in which it was supported by the government and in some cases by a victorious revolution. The rapid diffusion of Christianity itself, which is attributed to a miracle, is nothing compared with the far more rapid diffusion of Mohammedanism. The first spread through the territory of the Roman Empire in three centuries; the second in only eighty years extended its confines from Samarkand to the Pyrenees. But the first operated solely through preaching and persuasion, the second by preference employed the scimitar.

For the rest, the fact that all political parties and all religious creeds try to exert their influence on those who command and, when they can, to monopolize command itself, is the best proof that even if they do not openly confess it, they are profoundly convinced that to control all the most effective forces of a social organism, and especially of a bureaucratic state, is the best way to circulate and sustain their doctrines.

### IX

As regards the other means employed by the various religions and political parties to attract the masses, to keep their ascendancy over them and exploit their credulity, there are certain observations to be made analogous to those we have already made. They relate to the necessity for adapting founders of doctrines and the doctrines themselves to a certain moral average. The followers of every political or religious system are wont in this connection to point out carefully the faults of their

adversaries while claiming themselves to be free of those faults; but as a matter of fact all of them, in varying degree, it is true, are tarred more or less with the same brush. Indeed, as we have already indicated, a man may be perfectly moral as long as he does not come in contact with other men and has, above all, no pretensions to guiding them; but when he wishes to order their conduct, then he must give play to all their perceptible motives, exploit all their weaknesses; and any one who wanted only to appeal to their generous sentiments would be very easily overcome by others less scrupulous. "*Gli Stati non si governano coi paternostri*"—you cannot govern states with prayers—said Cosimo dei Medici, father of his country; and indeed it is difficult to lead the masses in a specific direction when one cannot, as the need arises, flatter the passions, satisfy caprices and appetites, inspire fear.

To look closely is to see that the arts employed to bait the crowds in all times and in all places have had, and still do have a great similarity, since it has always been necessary to profit by the same human weaknesses. All religions, even those which deny the supernatural, have their special declamatory style in which sermons, discourses, or speeches are held; all of them in order to strike the fancy have their ritual and their external displays; some parade bearing tapers and chanting litanies, others behind red banners to the sound of the Marsellaise or singing the International.

### X

That day can hardly come that would mark the end of conflicts and rivalries between different religions and parties; it would be possible only if all the civilized world belonged to a single social type, to a single religion, and there were no more disagreements as to the method of at-



taining social betterment. Now without accepting the theories of a German author who admits the necessity of political parties because they correspond to the various tendencies appearing in different ages of man, we can easily establish the fact that any new religion, any new political trend, that may win some measure of success, breaks up as a rule into other sects in which the instincts of dispute and conflict find their vent and which fight among themselves with the same zeal and the same bitterness that they formerly employed against opposing religions and parties. The numerous schisms and heresies continuously sprouting from Christianity, from Mohammedanism, and from so many other religions, the rifts now emerging in social democracy which is still far from a triumph that it may never attain, prove how extraordinarily hard it is to realize that universality of a single moral and intellectual world to which we have referred.

For the rest, granted even that it were easily attained, it does not seem to us desirable: hitherto freedom to think, to observe, to judge serenely and dispassionately of men and things has been possible—always, be it understood, for a few individuals—only in those societies in which different religious and political currents have contested dominion. This same condition is almost indispensable to the attainment of that maximum justice in the relations between governors and governed which is compatible with our imperfect human nature and which is commonly meant by political liberty. In fact, in societies in which choice among many religious and political currents is no longer possible because a single current has succeeded in imposing itself exclusively, the isolated and original thinker must remain silent, and moral and intellectual monopoly is infallibly united with political monopoly to the advantage of a caste or of a single social force.

#### SCHEDA CUMULATIVA ITALIANA

The attention of *Social Forces* readers is directed to the *Scheda Cumulativa Italiana* through the following announcement by Professor Constantine Panunzio

The American social scientist, interested in social phenomena as they occur outside of his country, must have frequently noted the paucity of comprehensive cumulative bibliographical guides for various foreign states. In some respects this was particularly true of Italy. Up to 1932 there existed no standardized bibliography in Italy in our sense of the word, but only a monthly classified list with an annual index for authors and titles, referring for fuller information to the monthly numbers. This method made the work of tracing materials cumbersome and slow.

Beginning with 1932 there has appeared the *Scheda Cumulativa Italiana* (H. W. Wilson Co., American Agent) which follows the system employed in the United States, England and Germany. The *Scheda* appears monthly and is combined quarterly and annually into one alphabetical index, and appears in March, June, September and at the end of the year. Complete bibliographical data are given under the author entry: full name of the author with his dates of birth and death, title of book, date and place of publication, size, paging, name of publisher and price. The bibliography is arranged in one single alphabet by subject as well as author with cross references for title, editor, pseudonyms, etc., to the author entry. The topical headings in the general alphabetical arrangement facilitates the finding of any subject, while cross references aid in tracing related materials, published in Italy for the period covered by the index. In addition, a list of book series and of addresses of all publishers whose publications appear in the volume are also included in the back part of the book.

The *Scheda* will be found indispensable by the scholar and librarian who wishes to keep informed regarding contemporary Italian publications, whatever be his particular field of interest.

## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE GREAT CONTROVERSY; OR, BOTH HETERODOXY AND ORTHODOXY IN SOCIOLOGY UNMASKED

L. L. BERNARD

*Washington University*

THE appearance of Dr. Ellwood's long heralded work on sociological method<sup>1</sup> has again raised the question of legitimacy and illegitimacy, of fundamentalism and liberalism, of purism and practicality, and even of estheticism versus human welfare in the field of the aims and procedures of the social sciences. Although this controversy has often been carried on humorously rather than acrimoniously, and with a vast difference of insight on the part of the various knights of the pen who have thrown ink at one another, it does seem that it is about time that someone said something that is both serious and pertinent in this paper-sword controversy. Perhaps, if the present writer, in his feeble way, undertakes to state objectively and impartially the issues as he sees them, some abler and better mounted knight of the pen may be able to settle the question for some time to come. And let me say at once that I think it is a serious question, however much unconscious humor has been spilled in the fray. I also believe that Dr. Ellwood's book is an ideal one from which to take a departure in this new direction of squaring the issues and of outlining the opposing

philosophies of method in such a way that something more than words and wise cracks and epithets may come out of this war for righteousness.

Dr. Ellwood's book is well written—years of practice have given him a smooth, clear, and mellow style—it is serious, and it has much in it that is most admirable. In fact, I should like to recommend to those religious bodies of America who have advanced to the point of social and psychological insight that they recognize that there are left almost no men and few women with I.Q.'s above 100 who will any longer take seriously a body of doctrines based on magic and dietetic rituals, that they use Chapters IX to XIII of this book as a new doctrinal creed to guide their members in thinking and preaching about social relations and obligations in our civilization. I should also recommend that they ask Dr. Ellwood to prepare an additional and fairly full chapter on the sociological basis of religion, in order to round out their social credo and to give to the whole of it a functional connection with the religion of true humanitarian obligation and endeavor. It will do no harm to recommend; and this shows what I think of this part of Dr. Ellwood's little book.

This last part, which I have just recom-

<sup>1</sup> *Methods in Sociology: A Critical Study.* By Charles A. Ellwood. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1933.

mended so strongly to the leaders of religion and morality—and to all good citizens, and to those who might be better, as well—does not deal with methods in the social sciences. Rather it is concerned with such matters as the sociological bases of ethics, of law and government, of social work, of the science of education, and of social progress. There is lacking only a chapter on the sociological basis of religion. Dr. Ellwood is one of the clearest seeing men in our day when it comes to an analysis of the social values of our culture; in fact he is almost a seer in that respect, and he is entitled to all the leadership that truly benevolent institutions will give him when he speaks of social and ethical and religious values. He also has great moral fervor, a virtue largely lost in an age when men can vote wrong on almost every social question and yet be terribly serious about religious dietetics and homiletical magic. The church—and other serious institutions devoted nominally or actually to social welfare—have a great leader in Dr. Ellwood. Let us hope that he also has a following in them.

Now I wish I could speak in equally unrestrained praise of the first eight chapters of the book. I think it shows Dr. Ellwood's fundamental liberalism of mind (sometimes his controversial enthusiasm is mistaken for intolerance) that he asked the editors to have me review his book, which he regards as in a way his most intimate contribution to social science. For more than twenty-five years Dr. Ellwood and I have argued on these and similar questions, and he has always emphasized more than I the opposition of our thinking. While I, on the other hand, have always believed that most of the controversy was due to a lack of adequate definition of the issues. The same, I think, is the explanation of most of the

present day dispute over methodology in sociology and also over behaviorism and its opposites, whatever they may be (emotionalism, Fundamentalism, mysticism, supernaturalism, magic, psychoanalysis, etc., as they seem to be in different cases). While reading over the first eight chapters of Dr. Ellwood's book and the introductory essay by Professor Howard E. Jensen, I was struck anew and even more forcibly with this same thought. I noted carefully the evidences of this interpretation as I read Dr. Ellwood's chapters. I wish, therefore, to make this appraisal not merely a review of Dr. Ellwood's book, but an attempt at orientation in the methodological controversy now going on between the radicals and the conservatives in the field, using Dr. Ellwood's book merely as an illustration of a confusion in thinking and of aims which I believe is very general. In fact, I believe the so-called radicals (I recognize that these terms are rather unadvisedly chosen) are as often intellectually and emotionally confused in the controversy as are the so-called conservatives.

The root of the whole difficulty is, I think, that both sides of the controversy have failed to distinguish two very different but equally legitimate aspects of scientific method—investigation or analysis, on the one hand, and generalization or synthesis on the other hand.<sup>2</sup> The older, especially the physical, sciences had no particular social necessity to make prominent such a distinction, and as a consequence it remained for the social sciences to fall into controversy as the result of a failure to emphasize the distinction. Those sociologists, and other social scientists, who are especially interested in ethical and social values and in constructive

<sup>2</sup> See L. L. Bernard, ed., *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*, 1934, Part I, Chs. i, viii, and ix, for this distinction.

social welfare programs stress particularly the aspect of generalization in sociological method. They are impatient for working conclusions, for indications as to what may be done in practical social situations. I can see this urge and emphasis throughout the early chapters of Dr. Ellwood and the introduction by Professor Jensen. It is a commendable attitude and emphasis and our civilization could not exist without such persons who are more interested in social programs than in sociological analysis and investigation. Without them the isolated and seemingly ethically unenthusiastic analytical investigators would have but little chance to grub for their facts.

Taking our civilization for what it is worth, and as values are today, the generalizers with their frequent ethical urge are not sufficiently appreciated. We have learned in our generation—as indeed Dr. Ellwood remarks—something that Socrates and Plato did not know, namely, that scientific knowledge does not in itself make a good world. Whether the world that results is good or bad depends on who uses the scientific knowledge and for what ends. It looks now—if I may be pardoned for interjecting this personal judgment—as if the exploiters (the unscrupulous advertisers, the plutocratic business and financial organizers, the arms and ammunition makers, the twenty or thirty millions of professional soldiers and ex-soldiers, the career diplomatists, etc.) were making more active and effective use of the results of social and psychological investigation than are the humanitarians. And perhaps part of the reason for this is that the humanitarians have placed less emphasis upon the use of sociological knowledge than upon the achievement of that knowledge.

I think Dr. Ellwood would agree, nay urge, all this. So far, a score for Dr.

Ellwood. He wants to get something done in this world that will be good for the world as a whole, and he grows impatient with the somewhat socially negativistic investigator type, who is impatient with generalization and especially with application. This investigator type only too frequently doesn't "care a hang" for what happens to society if he can only get his "results."<sup>3</sup> He may not even reflect that his indifference to social control and to standards of social morality may ultimately result in his losing his opportunity to investigate. This is unfortunate, perhaps inevitable, even if in the widest sense socially reprehensible. I say it is perhaps inevitable, for it may be that the true sociological investigator can work more efficiently, as the worker ants and bees work, if he becomes socially "desexed" or emasculated, as it were. Perhaps the nature of his task renders him socially abnormal, detached, and inverted, in order that his results may not be colored by his social interests and prejudices. I doubt if such is the case, but it is an arguable proposition. Certainly it is understandable that the investigator should be much more interested in sociological analysis and investigation in the laboratory or in the field than in the use that may be made of his findings. He is simply a specialized worker who is conditioned in the direction of analysis rather than in that of synthesis or generalization, and it is useful (at least within limits) for him to have this preferential interest, just as it is useful (also within limits) for the generalizer and the reformer to be more concerned with the use of sociological data than in their discovery.

These two types of methodologists are

<sup>3</sup> See "Sociological Research and the Exceptional Man," *Pub. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, XXVII: 3-19 (May, 1933).



supplementary to each other methodologically speaking. One is concerned with the methodology of analysis and investigation; the other with the methodology of synthesis, generalization, and application. Without the former (the investigator), the latter (the generalizer and the reformer) could not build a safe and sound social theory or construct a workable society. And without the latter, the former could not long continue on the investigator's job, for he would lack both orientation in his investigatory activities and protection in carrying them out.

Yet, strangely enough, these two types of methodologists are not very cordial to each other. The generalizer and the reformer are often very impatient with the analytical investigator, because he is forever and eternally finding new facts which tend to upset the nice generalizations and social programs of the former. The constructive social methodologists frequently come to look upon the analytical investigators as anarchists, as immoral, as enemies of society. And these latter in turn, noting the relatively greater zeal of the synthesists and reformers for a stable theory of society than for new facts, which may upset their social theories and social orders, retaliate with such epithets as "speculative thinkers," "philosophers," "metaphysicians," "dogmatists," "preachers," "reformers." Often they come to think of those they have so characterized as enemies of investigatory science, and I think I have detected in some degree just such an animosity, however veiled or unconscious, in some of the attitudes and exaggerations contained in Dr. Ellwood's book.

Thus almost constantly Dr. Ellwood unconsciously misrepresents the viewpoint of the analytical investigators regarding sociological method, or picks out extreme cases and presents them as typical. Some-

times, it seems to me, he makes up straw men, as where he represents the analytical investigators and the behaviorists (apparently they are one and the same according to Dr. Ellwood's thinking) as insisting on the exclusive use of physical science methods in the social sciences. Surely these two groups would not recognize this characterization of themselves as true. There are cases, as Dr. Ellwood admits, where physical measurements can be used in social investigation. This is especially true in anthropology, in social biology, in social medicine and in social hygiene, in some aspects of education, and also in some phases of economics and social work. But every sociological investigator worthy of the name knows quite well that he has to deal for the most part with facts and relationships too abstract and conceptualized to be subjected to physical measurement methods. He also recognizes with Dr. Ellwood that the technical laboratory is too artificial and too circumscribed for most of the problems of investigation of the sociologist and that he must substitute controlled observation of the social world, or of some representative section of that world, as it actually exists for the artificial laboratory set up.<sup>4</sup>

That is why the investigator has developed statistics, surveys, case studies, so fully, in order that he may have a methodological device for controlled observation upon which he can rely. Even the physical sciences, in their more general and abstract aspects, also depart from the laboratory and fall back upon the same or similar methods of controlled observation as those used in the social sciences. One thing that the analytical investigator does insist upon, whether he works in the physical, chemical, biological, psychological or sociological field, is measure-

<sup>4</sup> See "On the Making of Textbooks in Social Psychology," *Jour. Educa. Sociol.*, V: 67-81 (1931).

ment. Now measurement simply means accuracy. It does not imply physical measurement, except where such methods can be used effectively. Statistical measurement of some form is much more frequent than physical measurement in the social sciences.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Ellwood's evident prejudice against statistical measurements seems to me to be one of the evidences of this fear and antagonism of the synthesizer and reformer directed toward the disintegrative activities of the analytical investigators. Over and over again Dr. Ellwood emphasizes the necessity for agreement, for cooperative programs of social control and voices his opposition to the critical and relativistic spirit in our society. Here again he represents a legitimate interest; but I feel that he expresses it somewhat blindly when he permits his fear of social disintegration to condemn meticulous measurement and the ideal of exactness in social investigation. In fact, Dr. Ellwood himself appears in the end to catch this point (p. 85) and admits that exact methods, even the methods of the natural sciences, should be used in so far as possible, but contents himself by asserting that they are not applicable in much or most of the sociological field. With this, doubtless, every competent sociological investigator would agree.

If Dr. Ellwood were the only one who manifests a strong prejudice against meticulous analytical investigation, and if there were no analytical investigators who evidence an equal prejudice against synthetic generalization and constructive social programs, there would be no occasion for this analysis or for the use of Dr.

Ellwood as a case in point. But both types of prejudice are widespread and bitter. Such prejudice divides the field of social science in a very unfortunate way. The partisans of Dr. Ellwood's viewpoint (which, as I have said, is, like that of their opponents, based on a misapprehension and a failure to recognize two legitimate major divisions of methodology—the analytical and the synthetic and applicational) generally vent their strongest antagonism against the behaviorists. It is really amusing to read Dr. Ellwood's pen picture of a behaviorist, and I hope that this unconscious humor will soon dissolve the picture into the thin air out of which it is made. Apparently the behaviorist is a man (I take it that no woman has as yet so degraded herself as to become a behaviorist) who is so unconscious of intellectual and emotional values and relationships in society that he can see no evidence of mind and therefore insists upon using only physical measurements in the study of society. It seems that there was once a man named Zeliony (some believe his name was Seliony) who held to this viewpoint.<sup>6</sup> This man seems to be the only genuine instance of a sociologist (and Zeliony was a physiologist) that Dr. Ellwood cites as an example of this peculiar heresy. There is also some reference to John B. Watson (the psychologist) who, as a successful director of advertising, has come to the conclusion that people have no minds—or is it brains?

Now by some sort of legerdemain of scientific method, which is not explained, all of the rest of the behaviorists are made to conform to these two *enfants terribles* and to partake of their characteristics. I have sufficiently characterized this sort

<sup>5</sup> For more detailed discussions of these problems of methodology, and especially of measurement, see "Some General Problems of Sociological Measurements," *S. W. Soc. Sci. Quart.*, XII: 310-320 (1932) and "Social Progress and Scientific Method," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, July, 1925.

<sup>6</sup> Ellwood, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> "Social Psychology Studies Adjustment Behavior," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.* XXXVIII: 1-9 (1932).

of reasoning and misinterpretation elsewhere<sup>7</sup> and will not repeat the characterization here. I take this relatively unprovoked onslaught upon the behaviorists as another indication of the sort of fear of and prejudice against the analytical investigator who may undermine the carefully built up social generalizations and social programs around which the emotions of the synthetic methodologist are so strongly integrated. It so happens that the behaviorists are much interested in analytical investigation and they are making a vigorous attempt to analyze the behavior of men in society accurately and scientifically. But they are also equally interested in synthesis. That is why they define the behavioristic viewpoint as the study of adjustment behavior. They see social life or behavior from the standpoint of functional adjustment. They also are concerned with sociological generalization and constructive social programs, but they wish them to be built upon as thorough an analysis of the fundamental conditions of social adjustment as possible. They are not content merely to have a generalization or a plan of social control; they insist that social generalizations and controls be as accurate and as workable as possible. Otherwise, they believe, both generalizations and plans of control will fail. Because of this viewpoint they often find themselves in opposition to theologians, mystics, traditionalists, dogmatists, and other special interest groups of various sorts. The behaviorists also find these same groups arrayed against them. One only has to glance at the sources of opposition to the behaviorist emphasis to understand why it arises and persists.

Surely if Dr. Ellwood wishes to find a scientific middleground of coöperation between the two methodological extremes I have described, he could best find it in behaviorism. To insist on defining be-

haviorism in sociology in terms of some of the views of Zelig or of Watson, when all of the behaviorists in sociology against whom Dr. Ellwood and the other anti-behaviorists (I almost said sociological Fundamentalists) are delivering their diatribes hold entirely other views than those Dr. Ellwood describes, is an act of either prejudice, fear, lack of candor, or poor logic. To be frank in truly behaviorist fashion, it looks to me like one of those straw men referred to above. What are the anti-behaviorists trying to defend against behaviorism? Surely it is not scientific truth, for the sole creed of the behaviorists is untrammelled investigation of the most important phase of society—human adjustment relations. Is it the traditions of the church, some prejudices about race or the position of women, the theory of instincts, or what other negro in the philosophical woodpile that the self-made opponents of the behaviorist approach are afraid to bring out into the sunlight where his true color may be seen?

One of the charges that Dr. Ellwood brings against the behaviorists is that they substitute the formula of the conditioning of responses in the process of learning and constructive thinking for such other categories as insight, imagination, values. Now there is no contradiction between the concept of conditioning and the other concepts used by Dr. Ellwood. The latter are but more general, less defined, and usually more clumsy forms of this more refined and specific concept of conditioning. Insight, imagination, and valuation, like suggestion and imitation, are but aggregate forms of conditioning of responses. All of these more general and aggregate forms of conditioning are important psycho-social processes and the terms which describe them are legitimate terms where they are

legitimate.<sup>8</sup> But just as the social psychologists found that they could not make headway without analyzing the concepts of imitation and suggestion into their constituent elements, so also is it necessary to break down the amorphous terms insight, imagination, and valuation into their constituent adjustment processes. In a similar way we have just broken down the sacred conceptual entity instinct into its constituent elements, an act in which Dr. Ellwood has finally acquiesced. These constituent elements are of course always conditioning processes. John Locke discovered long ago that new habits are built up by the process of conditioning responses (association, he called it) and Pavlov reemphasized the fact by actually demonstrating the neurophysiological processes in his laboratory. But it is such a simple process that any one can demonstrate the conditioning of responses without a laboratory. I am sure that there is nothing immoral in this method of learning. Anyway, it is the only method we have. Even the Gestalt process must, in the last analysis, be explained in terms of conditioned patterns.

Surely no behaviorist is going to object to such terms as insight, imagination, values, unless someone attempts to erect them into sacred mystical entities which arbitrarily and fiatistically determine human adjustments contrary to all causal sequence and law and order. It was, I take it, because the metaphysicians attempted to make a similar lawless mystical entity out of mind that Watson began to deny the objective reality of mind and to insist that all we could locate or describe and *measure* in the hypothesis of mind was behavior. By all means, let us keep the *concept* of values, just as we shall always have the important *fact* of values. But let

us not treat this concept as a dead deity and worship it symbolically and mystically. Let us analyze and understand it, and thus use instead of worship it. If we use it we shall not be afraid to analyze it into its constituent elements, which happen to be processes of conditioning symbolic and overt responses.

Finally, Dr. Ellwood affirms the separateness and distinctness of the physical and mental (and moral) worlds and consequently of the methodologies which study these two worlds. This dualism of Dr. Ellwood, which is not borne out by any of the findings of science in the last one hundred years, explains I think in large part his strong opposition to measurement in scientific methodology and to behaviorism, which is so friendly to exact measurement (not necessarily physical measurement) as well as to synthesis. The other root of Dr. Ellwood's opposition to these methodological theories is, as I have already said, his emphasis upon synthesis and construction and his consequent fear of analysis. In fact, his metaphysical dualism is, I think, strongly connected emotionally with his synthetic social and scientific outlook. And I believe, furthermore, that the two get their connection largely through his traditional religious outlook. I doubt if Dr. Ellwood would dispute this interpretation. It is not meant as criticism, but as an attempt at an explanation. However, I believe that he, and many other sociologists who take a view similar to his own, are led into error by this metaphysical dualism in their interpretation of the distinctness of the methods of study in the physical and in the social sciences.

It is true, of course, that at the two extremes of mechanics and social psychology we have a functional dualism, both of the objects studied and of the methods of

<sup>8</sup> See L. L. Bernard, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, 1926, pp. 322-323.



studying these objects. In the one case we have theoretically inert masses and in the other theoretically self-directing individual personalities. But as a matter of fact (unless we believe with the vitalists that organic matter introduces a wholly new "vital principle"; with the spiritualists, that cerebrated beings are controlled by a new principle of "mind" or the "soul"; and with the instinctivists that social life introduces a new entity, the "social instinct") our whole body of scientific study teaches us that there is nowhere any break between the methods of behavior of physical masses and social beings, except a gradual modification of responses characterized by increasing complexity and decreasing stability or equilibrium. It is the same with methods of scientific investigation or analysis and synthesis. The higher up we go in the scale of measurement and synthesis the more complex are the things we must measure and generalize. Likewise, and correspondingly, the more complex become our methods and devices of measurement and synthesis. But that is all. The apparent dualism is at the two extremes, and not inherent in the process of development itself. It is but a logical illusion caused by our failure to discover or to hold in mind all of the intermediate steps in the developmental process, both of the realities studied and of the methods of study.

In this all too brief analysis I have attempted to explain a fundamental error and prejudice in our current discussion of scientific method. Dr. Ellwood is by no means the outstanding example of this failure to analyze the field of investigation and its problems with insight and without bias. He merely happens to be one of the more vocal, because he is one of the more active and earnest, of our sociologists ranged on one side of the controversy. Dr. Ellwood has never claimed to be a

technical analytical investigator of the type described here. He is a synthetic generalizer and a leader in the formulation of social programs. He has done distinguished service in both of these latter fields. Yet I doubt if he has any well defined conscious methodology even in these fields. Such methods as he has developed are described in Chapter V (p. 82, especially) as scientific imagination (which is nothing more nor less than the universally recognized and accepted hypothesis projection), psychological analysis, and historical interpretation or comparison. He assimilates to these, especially to historical interpretation, the methods of statistics, of the social survey, and the case method. His own use of statistics has been mainly informal rather than formal. Altogether his methodology may be summarized under the general heading of observation, for his use of psychological analysis has not entered into the details of formal technical processes (witness his opposition to the concept of conditioning of responses). He has actually used insight and imagination effectively in arriving at important and generally valid synthetic conclusions. So have many other sociologists of our day. In fact, I believe he is right in claiming that many or most of the larger and more important of our problems of social control must be reached and solved at the present time on this basis, aided of course by various forms of controlled observation and analysis.

In all this he is, I think, sound. It is only when he goes outside of the field in which he has served with so much distinction and attempts to write a book on method, in which he criticizes methods he does not himself use on metaphysical grounds that are not valid and from a viewpoint of interpretation that is apparently motivated by misunderstanding and controversial prejudice, that his work

is less sound and worthy of praise. Let me repeat that I believe his last five chapters, which are more or less unconsciously the result of general methods of which he is master (although he has not given us a detailed analysis of these methods), are exceptionally good and are worthy of adoption as a religious, educational, and social credo. Let me also express again the hope, or at least the wish, that those well intentioned defenders of tradition and other subjectively

intrenched values, who are especially likely to be in enthusiastic sympathetic agreement with Dr. Ellwood in his attacks upon "mensuristic" methods in social science and upon that modern dragon, behaviorism, may also receive with equally sincere acclaim his splendid analysis of sociological values contained in the last five chapters of his book. It would, in all probability, mark the beginning of their intellectual regeneration and of their spiritual reform.

### REJOINDER

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

*Duke University*

MY CHIEF comment on Dr. Bernard's article is that he has conceded nearly everything that I asked in my book on *Methods in Sociology*; and I, in turn, concede that in every science there is ample room for two classes of workers, one devoted to the minute analysis of experienced facts and the other to synthesis or generalization. Possibly he has even shown a way in which both types of workers may live together without either excommunicating the other from the ranks of scientific thinkers! But I wish to protest against the implication that adequate scientific understanding of any social situation is possible through scientific analysis alone. The *gestaltists*, whatever their shortcomings, have surely punctured that fallacy! Synthesis is always necessary for adequate understanding.

And I wish also to protest even more vigorously against the implication that social scientists have to be practical monists in order to be scientific. The social sciences have everything to lose, and nothing to gain, when they take such a methodological attitude, when there is obviously, as a matter of experience, a

phenomenal dualism between the physical and the mental, between the "natural" and the "cultural." Let us stick to common sense, and not be misled by a dogma regarding the uniformity of nature and culture. As I said in the *American Journal of Sociology* in July, 1934, "Even if we accept the philosophical view that 'all is natural,' I do not see how this helps us to determine the validity of generally accepted natural-science methods in the field of the social sciences. If the facts that the social sciences deal with are *unique*, and not to be found in the rest of nature, then we will have to have special methods to deal with them. The distinction between the sciences of nature and the sciences of culture will remain. To include culture in nature is surely too cheap a way to settle the methodological problem involved in the handling of human social facts. This is a merely verbal solution of the problem. For the facts dealt with by the sciences of culture have no analogue in the rest of nature, and as they make the sciences of culture different, the latter require different methods. That is all that I attempted to show."

## DISTRIBUTION AND MIGRATION OF PERSONS LISTED IN WHO'S WHO, AS COMPARED WITH THE GENERAL POPULATION

HAROLD H. PUNKE

*Georgia State Woman's College*

IT IS well known that there is normally a great deal of migration within the American population, and that the amount of migration has increased markedly during recent decades. Most of the recent migration has been from rural districts and small towns to cities, although during the depression there has been some migration from city to country. It has often been felt that the migration is selective; that persons of some occupational or cultural levels migrate to a greater extent than do persons of other levels. In attempting to study this problem, the present article deals with persons who have attained such achievement as is indicated by listing in *Who's Who in America*, and with the migration of such persons as compared with migrations of the general population.

Of the persons listed in the 1932-33 volume of *Who's Who in America*, approximately every fifth name was used in the study—making a total of 6,674. The data were tabulated according to year of birth, size in 1930 of community of residence, and size in 1930 of community of birth. Four age intervals were determined by birth dates; before 1860, 1860-80, 1881-1900, and since 1900. Only, nineteen of the total number were born since 1900, so this group was not studied in detail.

## DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH

The data of Table I make possible a study of *Who's Who* registrants distributed according to place of birth.

Available census data do not make possible as direct comparison with *Who's Who* data for the early period as would be

desirable. Certain comparisons, however, can be made. The percentage of the general population living in communities of 8,000 or over, more than doubled from 1850 to 1890 (increased from 12.5 to 29.0 per cent), whereas the percentage of *Who's Who* registrants born in communities of 10,000 or over from the period before 1860 to the period, 1881-1900, increased only from 42.0 to 50.0 per cent. Moreover, the proportion of the total population living in rural communities in 1900 was roughly two-thirds as large as the proportion in 1870, whereas the proportion of *Who's Who* registrants born in rural communities during the period, 1881-1900, is roughly nine-tenths as large as during the period, 1860-80. On the other hand, more than twice as large a proportion of the population lived in cities of 100,000 or over in 1900 as in 1870, whereas only approximately eleven-tenths as large a proportion of *Who's Who* registrants were born in such communities during the period 1881-1900 as during the period 1860-80. Toward the end of the century, then, the proportion of registrants born in urban communities was smaller than at earlier intervals, when compared with the proportion of the total population living in such communities.

This change may in part reflect differential birth rates between urban and rural communities. It may also reflect the cityward movement of population; a movement which more than offset the differential in birth rates, and which greatly affected persons born within the last twenty years of the preceding century. About the turn of the century, too, there were noticeable extensions of education

into the small communities, which would be reflected in registrants born 1881-1900. Furthermore, from 1880 to 1900, immigration contributed substantially to urban growth, and the first-generation descendants of immigrants often have an early home life which handicaps them in competition with children from more typical American homes.<sup>1</sup>

#### MIGRATION OF PERSONS LISTED IN WHO'S WHO

The migration of *Who's Who* registrants can be studied from the data of Table II.

Of the 6,674 persons studied, 41.0 per cent were born in rural communities, whereas 8.8 per cent lived in such communities in 1932. On the other hand, 29.5 per cent were born in cities which in 1930 had populations of 100,000 or over, whereas 62.2 per cent lived in such communities. Of those born in rural communities during the period 1860-80, 54.9 per cent migrated to large cities, and 24.9 per cent to cities of intermediate sizes. The corresponding figures for the period, 1881-1900, were 52.9 and 27.6 per cent. More than half of those born in either of the two intermediate-sized communities during either period, migrated to the large cities. Towns of 2,500-9,999 showed a decided net loss through migration, whereas communities of 10,000-99,999 showed some net gain. Evidence not adapted to presentation here indicates that many of the 138 persons migrating to rural communities from cities of 100,000 population or over lived in suburban villages. Only 33.8 per cent of those born 1860-80 lived in 1932 in communities of the same classification as the communities of birth, and more than two-thirds of these were born in cities of 100,000 or over.

<sup>1</sup> Persons of foreign birth listed in *Who's Who* were not included in the study.

The foregoing facts show clearly the cityward movement of rural-born *Who's Who* registrants, and show that the movement is toward the large city. However, most of those born in the large city apparently stay there.<sup>2</sup>

#### MIGRATION ACCORDING TO AGE OF REGISTRANTS

From Table II a study can also be made of migration according to date of birth of *Who's Who* registrants. Of those born in rural communities, during the three periods considered, practically the same percentage (52.9/54.9 per cent) of those born during each period migrated to large cities. Some fluctuation appears among the different periods, for communities of birth of 2,500/9,999 population, but the tendency is in keeping with that indicated for the rural communities. Essentially the same thing can be said for communities of 10,000/99,999 population. Slightly over three-fourths of those born in the communities of 100,000 or over, however, resided in a community of comparable size. The variation for different ages is slight.

So far as *Who's Who* registrants are concerned, then, there is no particular urge on the part of the "younger generation" to live in cities any more than on the part of the "older generation." Practically as large a percentage of those born in communities of the different sizes before 1860, lived in large cities in 1932, as of those born 1881-1900. This may be a reflection of one or more of three conditions: (1) Potential *Who's Who* registrants realized

<sup>2</sup> The study of course does not include all migration, such as that between communities within the same classification, or between communities of different classifications and back, but only the migration of persons going from communities of one class to communities of another class, and living at the time of enumeration in the community to which they migrated.



earlier in the history of the country than did the average of the population the cultural advantages of the city. Moreover, those advantages may have existed at an earlier date for persons of certain cultural levels to a greater extent than for

ports this hypothesis. (3) The rural community perhaps fosters types of social service not recognized by *Who's Who*, i.e., rearing the coming generation.

The difference between the different periods in the relative opportunity of

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO DATE AND SIZE OF COMMUNITY OF BIRTH, OF PERSONS LISTED IN *Who's Who*, AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE GENERAL POPULATION LIVING IN COMMUNITIES OF COMPARABLE SIZES AND AT COMPARABLE DATES\*

| WHO'S WHO AND GENERAL POPULATION           | SIZE OF COMMUNITY                       |             |               |                 | TOTAL    |            |
|--|---|-------------|---------------|-----------------|----------|------------|
|  | Rural                                   | 2,500-9,999 | 10,000-99,999 | 100,000 or over | Per cent | Number     |
| <i>Who's Who</i> : Per cent by birth date: |   |             |               |                 |          |            |
| Before 1860.....                           | 48.2                                    | 9.8         | 16.6          | 25.4            | 100.0    | 697        |
| 1860-1880.....                             | 41.5                                    | 12.0        | 17.5          | 29.0            | 100.0    | 4,135      |
| 1881-1900.....                             | 37.3                                    | 12.7        | 18.0          | 32.0            | 100.0    | 1,823      |
| General population by census periods:      |   |             |               |                 |          |            |
| 1850 { Number.....                         | 2,897,586; communities of 8,000 or over |             |               |                 | —        | 23,191,876 |
| Per cent.....                              | 12.5                                    |             |               |                 | 100.0    | —          |
| 1860 { Number.....                         | 5,072,256; communities of 8,000 or over |             |               |                 | —        | 31,443,321 |
| Per cent.....                              | 16.1                                    |             |               |                 | 100.0    | —          |
| 1870 { Number.....                         | 29,435,095                              | 1,941,803   | 3,152,237     | 4,029,236       | —        | 38,558,371 |
| Per cent.....                              | 76.3                                    | 5.0         | 8.2           | 10.5            | 100.0    | —          |
| 1880 { Number.....                         | 35,797,616                              | 3,542,227   | 4,613,981     | 6,201,909       | —        | 50,155,783 |
| Per cent.....                              | 71.4                                    | 7.0         | 9.2           | 12.4            | 100.0    | —          |
| 1890 { Number.....                         | 40,649,355                              | 4,879,544   | 6,323,871     | 14,208,347      | —        | 62,947,714 |
| Per cent.....                              | 64.6                                    | 7.8         | 13.0          | 18.7            | 100.0    | —          |
| 1900 { Number.....                         | 49,806,146                              | 8,134,588   | 13,729,394    | 20,302,138      | —        | 75,994,575 |
| Per cent.....                              | 54.2                                    | 8.8         | 14.9          | 22.1            | 100.0    | —          |

\* Data for 1890-1900 are from *Fifteenth Census of U. S. (1930)*, "Population," Vol. I, Table 8, p. 14. Data for 1880, rural and total from *ibid.*, Table 3, p. 8. Urban, for communities of different sizes, adapted from *Tenth Census (1880)*, "Population," Table XXV, pp. 670-71. Total for 1870, same source as foregoing totals. Distribution as to size of community adapted from *Ninth Census (1870)*, Table III, pp. 75-296. Data for 1850 and 1860 are from *Abstract of Fifteenth Census (1930)*, Table 12, p. 20.

The percentage of the population living in communities of 8,000 or over for the decades 1870-1900 are: 1870, 20.9 per cent; 1880, 22.7 per cent; 1890, 29.0 per cent; 1900, 32.9 per cent (*Fifteenth Census of United States, 1930, ibid.*)

persons of other levels. (2) The difference in difficulty of attaining the achievement recognized by *Who's Who* by persons of rural as compared with persons of urban birth was greater in earlier than in later years. Subsequent evidence sup-

rural-born and of urban-born persons to reach the achievement indicated by *Who's Who* can be clearly seen in the following presentation. The study indicates one registrant as having been born in rural districts during the period 1881-1900 for

every 59,691 persons living in such districts in 1890, and one born in large cities during this period for every 16,635 persons living in such cities in 1890. In 1870, 29,435,095 persons lived in rural districts and 4,029,236 in cities of 100,000 or over

area in 1870, and one person was born in the large city for every 3,366 persons living in such area. Hence the data for the later period (1881-1900) indicate that a person born in a large city had 3.6 times as good an opportunity to attain *Who's Who*

TABLE II  
DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY AND DATE OF BIRTH AND ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE, OF  
6,674 PERSONS LISTED IN *Who's Who*

| COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE                    | COMMUNITY AND DATE OF BIRTH* |           |           |            |             |           |           |            |               |           |           |            |                 |           |           |            | TOTALS BY RESIDENCE |
|---|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|------------|---------------------|
|   | Rural                        |           |           |            | 2,500-9,999 |           |           |            | 10,000-99,999 |           |           |            | 100,000 or over |           |           |            |                     |
|   | Before 1860                  | 1860-1880 | 1881-1900 | Since 1900 | Before 1860 | 1860-1880 | 1881-1900 | Since 1900 | Before 1860   | 1860-1880 | 1881-1900 | Since 1900 | Before 1860     | 1860-1880 | 1881-1900 | Since 1900 |                     |
| Rural:                                    |                              |           |           |            |             |           |           |            |               |           |           |            |                 |           |           |            |                     |
| Number.....                               | 41                           | 186       | 75        | —          | 6           | 36        | 17        | —          | 9             | 56        | 22        | —          | 14              | 83        | 38        | 3          | 586                 |
| Per cent of total at bottom.....          | 12.2                         | 10.8      | 11.0      | —          | 8.8         | 7.2       | 7.4       | —          | 7.8           | 7.7       | 6.7       | —          | 7.9             | 6.9       | 6.5       | —          | 8.8                 |
| 2,500-9,999:                              |                              |           |           |            |             |           |           |            |               |           |           |            |                 |           |           |            |                     |
| Number.....                               | 33                           | 161       | 58        | 1          | 10          | 63        | 24        | —          | 4             | 44        | 19        | —          | 10              | 44        | 29        | —          | 500                 |
| Per cent of total at bottom.....          | 9.8                          | 9.4       | 8.5       | —          | 14.7        | 12.7      | 10.4      | —          | 3.4           | 6.1       | 5.8       | —          | 5.7             | 3.7       | 5.0       | —          | 7.5                 |
| 10,000-99,999:                            |                              |           |           |            |             |           |           |            |               |           |           |            |                 |           |           |            |                     |
| Number.....                               | 78                           | 427       | 188       | 1          | 17          | 105       | 64        | —          | 35            | 199       | 90        | 1          | 17              | 139       | 71        | 2          | 1,434               |
| Per cent of total at bottom.....          | 23.2                         | 24.9      | 27.6      | —          | 25.0        | 21.1      | 27.7      | —          | 30.2          | 27.5      | 27.4      | —          | 9.6             | 11.6      | 12.2      | —          | 21.5                |
| 100,000 or over:                          |                              |           |           |            |             |           |           |            |               |           |           |            |                 |           |           |            |                     |
| Number.....                               | 184                          | 943       | 360       | 1          | 35          | 293       | 126       | —          | 68            | 425       | 197       | 4          | 136             | 931       | 445       | 6          | 4,154               |
| Per cent of total at bottom.....          | 54.8                         | 54.9      | 52.9      | —          | 51.5        | 59.0      | 54.5      | —          | 58.6          | 58.7      | 60.1      | —          | 76.8            | 77.8      | 76.3      | —          | 62.1                |
| Totals by community and date of birth.... | 336                          | 1,717     | 681       | 3          | 68          | 497       | 231       | —          | 116           | 724       | 328       | 5          | 177             | 1,197     | 583       | 11         | 6,674               |
| Totals by community of birth.....         |                              | 2737      |           |            |             | 796       |           |            |               | 1,173     |           |            |                 | 1,968     |           |            | 6,674               |
| Per cent by community of birth.....       |                              | 41.0      |           |            |             | 11.9      |           |            |               | 17.6      |           |            |                 | 29.5      |           |            | 100.0               |

\* Born before 1860, 697; 1860-80, 4135; 1881-1900, 1813; since 1900, 19.

(Table I). Of the 4,135 registrants born during the period 1860-80, 1,717 were born in rural communities and 1,197 in the large cities. Thus one registrant was born in the rural area during the period 1860-80 for every 17,143 persons living in such

*Who's Who* as did a person born in a rural community. The data for the early period (1860-80), however, indicate that the corresponding opportunity of the city-born person was 5.1 times as great as that of the rural-born person. Apparently then

the spread in opportunity between the rural boy and the city boy is becoming less marked. This fact, despite economic differences between urban and rural districts suggests a decrease in one type of cultural stratification between districts of the two types.

This conclusion is further supported when only residents of the large cities are considered. Thus from Table II it can be determined that 4,154 of the 6,674 persons studied, were in 1932 living in communities of 100,000 population or over. Of these 4,154 persons, 2,592 were born during the period 1860-80 and 1,128 during the period 1881-1900. The percentage born in rural communities and in communities of 100,000 or over for the two periods were 36.4 per cent and 35.9 per cent, and 31.9 per cent and 39.4 percent respectively. This increase in percentage of *Who's Who* residents of large cities who were born in such cities (35.9/39.4) is less than the increase in percentage of the total population from 1870 to 1890 living in such communities. Hence a reflection of a decrease in spread of opportunity between the smaller community and the large city, as that opportunity is measured by listing in *Who's Who*.

#### MIGRATION OF WHO'S WHO AND OF GENERAL POPULATION

To make a further comparison of persons listed in *Who's Who* with the general population, a comparative study of mobility is fruitful. For such a study it is first necessary to secure an index of mobility in the general population. To secure such index a study was made, not of all the types of communities heretofore considered in the article, but of thirty cities<sup>3</sup> each having a 1930 population of

over 100,000. The age distribution of the combined native-white population in the thirty cities, for the census decades 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 was then determined. The data appear in Table III.

Table III permits comparisons of two age groupings in the general population with two groupings in the *Who's Who* study: persons born 1860-80 compared with 20-39 years old in 1900, and persons born 1881-1900 with those under 20 years of age in 1900. In 1900 the older group, relating to the total population, included 2,884,193 persons, and the younger group included 4,375,814 persons. From the data given in *Mortality Statistics*, the probable number of deaths within these two groups of the general population during the period, 1900-1930, was then calculated,<sup>4</sup> making allowance for the

Indianapolis, Kansas City, Mo., Los Angeles, Louisville, Ky., Memphis, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Newark, N. J., New Haven, Conn., New Orleans, New York, Omaha, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Providence, St. Louis, San Francisco, Seattle, Washington, D. C. In selecting cities, an attempt was made to choose cities which were representative in 1900, as well as in 1930.

<sup>4</sup> The following note indicates in detail the method of calculation.

In the thirty cities the death rate per thousand people for 1929, calculated from estimated population and actual number of deaths (for whites only in 18 of the 30 cities for which data for colored and white are given separately), was the same as that for total registration area of the United States, or about one per thousand less than for all registration cities. Moreover, the rate for all registration cities was roughly one per thousand more than for total registration area for the three years, 1929, 1928, and 1900, for which available data permitted comparison. Hence the death rate for total registration area was used as the rate for the thirty cities.

This rate fluctuates somewhat from year to year, but in general the net variation has been downward. An arbitrary average of the rate at the beginning and at the end of a decade was therefore used as governing the decade. The rates for total registration area were as follows: 1900, 17.6; 1910, 15.0; 1920, 13.0; and 1929, 11.9. Accordingly the rates used for the

<sup>3</sup> The thirty cities are: Atlanta, Baltimore, Birmingham, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Fall River, Mass.,

decreasing death rate per thousand persons during the thirty-year period, and for the changing proportion of total deaths occurring among the different age groups as their ages advanced with the passing of the thirty-year period.

These calculations indicate that between

thirty cities were: 1900-09, 16.3; 1910-19, 14.0; and 1920-29, 12.5. (Data adapted from Tables H and I, p. 6. *Mortality Statistics*, Thirtieth Annual Report, 1929.)

The number of deaths per thousand people thus determined, was then distributed among the different age groups in accordance with the age distribution of deaths among native whites as shown in *Mortality Statistics* for all registration cities. To determine the number of deaths for successive years in the group under 20 years of age in 1900 and for the group 20-39 years of age in 1900, the age distribution of deaths indicated for 1910 (*Mortality Statistics*—1910—Eleventh Annual Report, Table 5, pp. 304-9), was used for the years 1900-19; and the distribution for 1920 (*ibid.*, Twenty-first Annual Report, Table 4, pp. 174-9), for the subsequent period. Since the two population groups studied can be thought of as two blocks each with an age span of twenty years, an average percentage distribution of deaths for the twenty-year span was used at the different census intervals. Thus the group 10-29 years old in 1910 were 20-39 years old in 1920. The percentage distribution of deaths used was the percentage that the deaths of native white persons 10-29 years of age in 1910 was of all deaths of native whites for that year. Similarly calculations were made for the other periods, with one exception for the younger group. The exception relates to the first ten years, for the group under 20 years of age in 1900. Because of the high death rate among persons under five years of age, as mortality statistics commonly show, the average for persons under 20 years of age was used for the first five years of the ten year period, and the average for persons 5-25 years of age used for the second five years of that period.

No similar adjustment was necessary in the case of the group 20-39 years of age in 1900. Here the average for the twenty-year age span was used for each decade interval. However in this instance the intervals were made to break on the five-year periods; thus the average used for the first ten years (1900-09) was the average for ages 25-44, etc.

Certain inaccuracies will be observed in the foregoing procedure, but nevertheless the resulting data are valuable for general comparisons.

1900 and 1930, 586,651 persons of the older group would normally have died, and 532,410 persons of the younger group. On this basis there should have been living in 1930, 3,843,404 of the 4,375,814 persons of ages 30-49 in 1930 or under 20 years of age in 1900, and 2,297,542 of the 2,884,193 persons of ages 50-69 in 1930 or of ages 20-39 in 1900. From Table III, however, it can be determined that in the younger age group in 1930 there were 4,746,606 native white persons living in the thirty cities. Hence 903,202, or 19.0 per cent of this number is the net result of migration to such cities, above whatever migration took place in the opposite direction. Clearly these persons came in the main from smaller communities.

In regard to the older group on the other hand, it can be determined from Table III that 1,916,604 native white persons of ages 50-69 were in 1930 actually living in the thirty cities, whereas the calculations indicated that normally 2,297,542 persons of this group should have survived to 1930. Apparently then there has been a net migration from the thirty cities of 380,938, or 16.6 per cent of the 2,297,642 persons. The assumption is that a large proportion of this efflux moved into suburban communities, although a great many no doubt went to small communities somewhat farther removed. Whether these older persons were self-supporting, as a result of current earnings or of accumulated resources, or became a drain upon the communities to which they moved, is a matter which will not be examined here, as major interest is in other aspects of the problem. In passing, however, it is interesting to note, by tracing this age group across the table, the particularly rapid proportional decrease in the older part of the group (a decrease which seems too rapid to be accounted for on the basis of mortality alone).

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Returning now to the migration of persons listed in *Who's Who*, it can be determined from Table II that 266 of the 1,197 persons born 1860-80 in cities of 100,000 or more lived in 1932 in smaller communities. On the other hand there were 1,661 persons born in smaller communities during the same period, who in

corresponding ages (16.6 per cent), the differential migration within this age group, in favor of the large city at the expense of the smaller community, is certainly obvious.

In considering further the younger group of *Who's Who* registrants, born 1881-1900, the data indicate that 138 of

TABLE III  
AGE DISTRIBUTION BY DECADES OF COMBINED NATIVE-WHITE POPULATION OF THIRTY CITIES\*

| AGE                          | DECADES   |            |            |            |
|------------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
|                              | 1900      | 1910       | 1920       | 1930       |
| Under 5                      | 1,296,995 | 1,597,414  | 1,933,057  | 1,807,472  |
| 5-9                          | 1,216,368 | 1,302,074  | 1,786,627  | 1,944,958  |
| 10-14                        | 944,219   | 1,235,323  | 1,558,580  | 1,919,626  |
| 15-19                        | 868,232   | 1,241,570  | 1,353,816  | 1,885,693  |
| 20-24                        | 881,384   | 1,202,816  | 1,480,467  | 1,922,895  |
| 25-29                        | 817,699   | 1,019,250  | 1,417,570  | 1,688,755  |
| 30-34                        | 660,590   | 853,735    | 1,076,054  | 1,493,418  |
| 35-39                        | 524,520†  | 755,799    | 981,567    | 1,346,504  |
| 40-44                        | 448,617†  | 592,234    | 801,138    | 1,057,179  |
| 45-49                        | 503,086   | 468,760    | 679,662    | 849,505    |
| 50-54                        |           | 381,401    | 546,509    | 703,852    |
| 55-59                        | 243,766   | 234,389    | 375,404    | 533,183    |
| 60-64                        |           | 161,674    | 296,571    | 404,790    |
| 65-69                        | 145,290   | 107,513    | 171,518    | 274,679    |
| 70 or over                   |           | 123,565    | 194,907    | 327,249    |
| Total for thirty cities..... | 8,600,766 | 11,277,517 | 14,653,447 | 18,160,858 |

\* The data for the table were adapted from the census reports of corresponding years: those for 1900 from *Twelfth Census of U. S.* (1900), Vol. II, "Population," Part II, Table 9, pp. 122-49; those for 1910 from *Thirteenth Census of U. S.* (1910), Vol. I, "Population," Table 49, pp. 437-46, and Table 50, p. 450ff; those for 1920 from *Fourteenth Census of U. S.* (1920), Vol. II, "Population," Table 15, pp. 288-304, and Table 16, pp. 305-61; those for 1930 from *Abstract of Fifteenth Census of U. S.* (1930), Table 108, pp. 208-13, and *Fifteenth Census of U. S.*, "Population," Vol. III, Part I, Table 63, p. 67ff.

† The age group 35-44 for 1900 (973,137) for the thirty cities was distributed as 53.9% of ages 35-39 and 46.1% of ages 40-44, in accordance with the relative number of persons in the two smaller groups for the United States as a whole in 1900, as indicated in Table 97, p. 182, *Abstract of Fifteenth Census of U. S.* (1930).

1932 were living in cities of 100,000 or over. Thus a net gain for the large cities of 1,395 persons, or 53.8 per cent of the 2,592 persons born during this period who were living in the large cities in 1932. When one notes this net gain on the part of the large city in somewhat illustrious persons, and net loss in total population of

the 583 born in large cities were in 1932 living in smaller communities. Conversely 683 persons born in smaller communities during the same period were in 1932 living in the large cities; thus a net gain for large cities of 545 persons, or 48.3 per cent of the 1,128 persons born during this period who were living in such cities in

1932. This is a decidedly larger proportion of *Who's Who* registrants, than the net gain of 19.0 per cent for the comparable group of the general population. Clearly then there is a decided differential rate and direction of migration of the special social group here studied, in comparison with the total population. Among the young age groups there is a decided net migration to the city for both social groups, but a greater proportionate migration for the *Who's Who* group. The older age groups, however, show a marked migration from the large city for the total population, but a much more marked migration to the large city of *Who's Who* registrants.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Certain facts reported in the article may justify a few concluding remarks. (1) A much larger number of *Who's Who* registrants live in urban than in rural communities, per 100,000 persons living in the two types of communities. The differences between the two types of communities, however, show some change in favor of the rural community. Nevertheless that difference is still very great in comparison with the rate of change in the difference.

(2) A much larger number of registrants were born in urban than in rural communities, per 100,000 persons living in the two types of communities, but here again the difference is less for those born during the later period than for those born earlier. Thus the child born in the large city before 1860 had 5.1 times as good a chance to attain *Who's Who* as did the rural child, whereas for children born during the period, 1881-1900, the chance of the city child was only 3.6 times as good as that of the rural child. This fact may be interpreted as indicating a somewhat greater democracy of cultural opportunity between

the two types of communities, during recent than during earlier years. In one sense then it might be regarded as showing greater democracy between social classes, democracy as to educational and cultural opportunity in relation to economic and vocational status of the father. It might similarly be urged that, as the city becomes large beyond a certain point, more of man's energy is directed toward the glare and mechanics of transient life than toward attainments which are more representative of *Who's Who*. However, neither this possibility nor the preceding one regarding democracy, should be pushed too far on the basis of the data here presented.

(3) The evidence indicates a much heavier net migration to large cities of *Who's Who* registrants of ages 30-50 than of the general population of corresponding ages. For the age group twenty years older, the study shows a heavy net migration of *Who's Who* registrants to large cities, and a significant net migration of the general population from such cities. Apparently those drawn to the city because of physical usefulness are discarded and move out when that usefulness wanes. Those drawn there because of intellectual capability and training, if we may so characterize *Who's Who* registrants, are usable in the city at much riper ages than the other group. This suggests that the demands of the future will be increasingly for trained as contrasted with untrained persons, particularly if we move further in the direction of urbanization and industrialization. It suggests too that there may be a continued drainage of prominent and potentially prominent persons from the smaller communities to the cities, even though economic conditions in the smaller communities may improve relative to those of the city.

## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### EVIDENCES OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND TYPES OF RESPONSES THERETO

ERNEST BOULDIN HARPER

*Michigan Emergency Relief Administration*

THE symptoms of social disorganization are still distressingly apparent.

Despite nearly two years of the "New Deal," the reign of the "Blue Eagle," and the FERA, prosperity has not been restored to private business and industry, nor adequate relief and security afforded the destitute and the unemployed. Particularly in the economic field are our basic institutions maladapted to fundamental human needs, despite certain superficial gains in employment and an apparent increase in wages. Notwithstanding the euphemistic affirmations of the daily newspapers and the confident protestations of chambers of commerce, our war on the depression—as the late President Hoover used to call it—has made little headway, and only Pyrrhic victories have been won so far.

The processes of disorganization which underlie the external evidences so painfully clear to everyone antedate the World War and the stock market collapse of October, 1929. It will be pointed out shortly that the roots of the current disintegration are embedded in the early history of American culture: the War and the Depression constitute merely aggravating forces.

In this situation many groups and interests are striving for recovery. Be-

sides the "Brain Trust" and the Administration, several progressive political movements have appeared and organized labor has made some advance. In these efforts the intelligentsia have had and still have their chance as never before in our political life. Among these groups are the social workers, and the purpose of this introductory paper is to set the stage for an evaluation of their efforts toward reconstruction. This will be done, (1) by indicating the major symptoms of disorganization, (2) analyzing the processes involved, and (3) describing some of the characteristic responses that are being made to the present situation.

#### EVIDENCES OF DISORGANIZATION

The most striking evidences of disorganization are found in the economic and political fields. Time permits only a brief résumé of the typical symptoms. In the financial world the stock market crash of October, 1929, and the failure of the banks, beginning in Michigan in February, 1933, dramatized the breakdown of two basic institutions. Before this dénouement, however, the inequality of income had become obvious and threatening. In 1928, for example, one per cent of the population received 12 per cent of the national earnings, and owned 50 per

cent of the wealth of the country. An equal distribution of income would have given each family \$3,300 a year. A recent study made under the New York TERA showed that we might have produced in 1929, with existing equipment, an income in goods and services equivalent to between \$4,000 and \$5,000 per family, whereas actually only 8 per cent of the families of the country received more than \$5,000 during the year.

It is, however, the spectre of insecurity, rather than of actual poverty, that, as Epstein says, hangs like the sword of Damocles over the heads of us all. Security, he points out, is dependent upon wages, and wages in turn depend upon jobs. Unemployment mounted from three or four million in 1930 to thirteen million in March, 1933, but decreased to eleven million in July, 1934. Totals of this magnitude indicate the undependability of wages for the laboring man. But insecurity is not confined to this class of worker, as Epstein also indicates. An increasing number of professionals are dependent upon salaries and hence upon the economic system that is undergoing change. Furthermore, there has been a decided decrease in the number of small independent business concerns and manufacturing firms. Between 1919 and 1928, 7,259 such firms merged or were acquired by others in manufacturing and mining alone; between 1919 and 1930, 8,003 concerns in these fields disappeared. Again, since 1900 there have been 546,000 commercial failures, 31,822 of these occurring in 1932. In 1930 over one-half of all active firms showed losses.

The plight of the farmer is almost as serious as that of his industrial brother. In 1933 he got only one-third of the consumer's dollar. In terms of income, farm taxes practically doubled between 1929 and 1932. The number of operating farms

decreased by 160,000 in the ten year period between 1920 and 1930. Tenant farming has also increased. In 1880, only 25.6 per cent of all farms were tenant operated: in 1930, the percentage was 42.4. No longer is the farm the chief refuge of those seeking security.

But insecurity is potential. Actual distress is revealed by the index of destitution, i.e., the amount spent for and the number on relief. During the fifteen months between May, 1933, and August, 1934, \$1,336,918,000, not including the cost of CWA, was expended for relief from public funds, two-thirds of it being Federal money. FERA statistical reports showed an all-time high record last April with some 4,600,000 families on relief. The figure has now reached, or will shortly reach, five million. This means that some 20,000,000 persons are suffering such destitution that the Government has had to come to their assistance. A simple calculation will show that the end is not yet. The 11,000,000 unemployed represent approximately 27,000,000 persons, counting two and a half to each employed individual, for whom private industry is no longer providing subsistence. Of the 20,000,000 persons on relief, recent studies indicate that approximately one-fifth come from families of the unemployable or chronically destitute. Hence only 16,000,000 can be assumed to have been drawn from the ranks of unemployed families. Subtracting sixteen from twenty-seven, we have some 11,000,000 additional individuals who are unemployed and who may at any time become eligible for relief.

Political disorganization is evident in the machinery of local government. Despite close integration of the county due to improved transportation and communication the township system still prevails in many states. While small commissions



and the manager system have gained in popularity in the city, counties continue to be governed by boards of supervisors or administrative courts, and rural justices still collect fines at the cross roads. Counties have been successfully consolidated for educational and welfare purposes, but remain separate units for government. Our judicial system, particularly in reference to juries and the control of crime, demands revamping. Furthermore, political parties have lost their significance in national government and new alignments are demanded. On the international stage disarmament proposals and conferences have failed, distrust is rampant, and war is chronically imminent. So much for a hasty sampling of some of the most apparent surface manifestations, or symptoms of contemporary maladjustment. We turn next to a causal analysis of the underlying processes of social, and particularly of institutional disorganization.

#### DISORGANIZING PROCESSES

Disorganization can be understood only in reference to organization. Processes of decay and reconstruction are going on simultaneously and continuously in society and an equilibrium of such forces represents organization. When this nice balance of positive and negative forces is destroyed we have disorganization. This general principle applies also to institutions, which are "relatively permanent and formal ways of dealing with certain situations or phases of the common life." The essential element of institutions lies in their "continuity in meeting human needs through socially transmitted devices." When disrupting forces become stronger than unifying processes the moving balance is upset, continuity of service is destroyed, and disorganization begins. Two main processes can be traced

in interpreting the symptoms previously described. Though treated separately they are essentially two aspects of the same basic process.

The first of these processes may be termed disintegration. It involves the actual breakdown of institutions that once satisfied human needs. Thus our banking and industrial systems performed more or less efficient social services until their recent disintegration which is revealed, as we have seen, in unemployment, increased relief loads, and business failures. Three causal factors may be distinguished in social disintegration: (1) vertical mobility, (2) technical changes, and (3) conflict.

As indicated at the beginning of this paper the roots of the present crisis go back to the beginnings of American culture. Until 1820, or thereabouts, more or less of a closed class system prevailed in America. In the southern part of the country class distinctions persisted until after the Civil War, when they gradually died with the abolition of slavery. Implicit from the start in pioneer life, vertical mobility became the characteristic pattern of American culture. Every child, whatever his lineage or background, might legitimately expect to become president—at least it was not an impossible or inconceivable ideal. Characteristically enough this ambition to move up in the scale generally assumed materialistic forms. Wealth became the national goal. The revolt of youth against traditional control, the emancipation of women, the northward movement of the Negro, installment buying and speculation were all symptoms and expressions of this well-nigh universal urge to improve one's status. It was the last named, of course, that led directly to the crash of the stock market in 1929 and the failure of the banks three and one-half years later.

This constant tendency to move up and therefore out of one's place in the scheme of things meant of course the disruption of our institutions, and in the course of time, the destruction of national stability. In the rush upward, the unfit (in many ways) as well as the fit (in some ways) rose to the top. We have thus the incongruous spectacle of a well-known prize-fighter making as much as a million dollars on a single fight. This same gentleman is now on his third wife and is reported to have had his face lifted! Thus do values become distorted. Samuel Insull, an immigrant English Jew, rose to the top of a great power empire—and fell. "Babe" Ruth, the famed "Sultan of Swat," made \$85,000 a year in the heyday of his fame, merely playing, and was recently imported by Japan to show the ambitious amateurs of the "Land of the Rising Sun" how it was done. As long as the frontier lasted, as long as business was expanding in geometric ratio and there was still room left at the top, institutions and standards were shaken, but not destroyed. But when the crash came, the depression began, and the lid was clamped down, vertical mobility, suddenly checked, was forced to become horizontal or downward movement, and disintegration began in earnest. The reaction of individuals and groups to what might be called frustrated vertical mobility, will be noted below.

In a closed class system, with non-democratic education, such complete disorganization as we are witnessing would probably not have happened. England, for example, with less of an open class society than ours, seems to be weathering the storm with more equanimity and less hysteria. Internationally the same explanation holds: the failure of disarmament treaties and conferences reflects the vertical mobility of nations who are unwilling to remain in their established places.

The other two causal forces may be commented on briefly. The rôle of technological improvements in machinery and processes in disrupting industry and causing unemployment has been thoroughly popularized and need not detain us. Conflict became important when vertical mobility was thwarted. With profits reduced to a minimum, capital and labor began to fight for what was left, and in the struggle many of our institutions, economic, political and legal—NRA and pre-Rooseveltian—began to crack.

The second disorganizing process, parallel and closely intertwined with social disintegration is what might be termed cultural non-integration, or lag. The failure of our institutions to adjust to the momentous changes resulting from invention helps account for the headway made by the disintegrating forces. As already suggested the two process cannot be sharply distinguished. Furthermore, the limitation of opportunity for the individual resulting in frustrated vertical mobility, has been due to non-integration as well as disintegration. Among the symptoms mentioned at the beginning of this paper the mal-distribution of wealth, agricultural disorganization, insecurity, the maladaptation of county government, of juries, and of law enforcement, as well as the decay of the traditional political parties are essentially cases of lag. Two other outstanding examples are the plight of the consumer and the high costs of medical care, the latter being a specific example of consumer handicap.

A very clear case of non-integration in the industrial field, and incidentally a severe indictment of our economic institutions in general, is contained in the recent "national survey of potential product capacity" (to which reference has already been made). The NSPPC, as it is called, was an investigation of the potential capacity of the United States to pro-

duce based on the year 1929. It was made by the Public Welfare Department of New York as a work relief project and was directed by Harold Loeb and Felix J. Frazer. The NSPPC sets the total possible production somewhat higher than a similar study made previously by the Brookings Institution, and concludes that had goods and services been produced and consumed in accordance with our capacity to produce, destitution, and the fear of destitution, might have been abolished. If prices had been kept down, capacity production of the existing equipment maintained, and the distribution of the products changed, that is, had we been able to buy, "we could have produced sufficient food and clothing for a decent standard of living for all." If incomes were equitably distributed industry could have provided from four to five thousand dollars worth of goods and services per family. This failure to produce has resulted in our depriving ourselves of some 287 billion dollars worth of commodities since 1929. We have the resources, "what we lack is the ability to organize the economics of the system so that everyone shall be able to buy what can be offered for sale."

#### CHARACTERISTIC RESPONSES

Institutions tend to go through cycles of organization and disorganization. Possibly the two processes of disintegration and non-integration have not progressed sufficiently far for reconstruction to take place. They have, however, for the time being resulted in thwarting the tendency toward vertical mobility. We turn finally, therefore, to a consideration of typical responses to this situation. Reactions and attempts at reorganization fall naturally under two heads: (1) individual, and (2) cultural. Just as social and personal disorganization are frequently but not necessarily connected, so cultural

and individual reconstruction are closely interrelated.

Personal or individual responses are of two types: adjustments effected by a second party, i.e. case work, and spontaneous or automatic reactions. Frustrated vertical mobility may result in successful accommodation and readjustment but all too frequently maladaptations develop. Revolt, conflict, and suicide are typical responses. Transiency represents horizontal or geographical mobility which is substituted for vertical when the latter is inhibited. Insanity, deaths from heart diseases, and accidents are probably on the increase, the first being another form of withdrawal. Again, vice may be considered a response to frustrated vertical mobility resulting from conformity to the worst elements in a complex social situation. The direct opposite of vertical movement is found in the lowering of the standard of living which so many thousands today are finding to be the only adjustment possible.

Social or cultural responses may also be of two kinds: spontaneous outbreaks against conditions, and planned, constructive movements. Strikes, both of industrial employees and of relief workers, organized into so-called pressure groups, are typical of the first kind. Recent farm revolts probably represent this type of response to a situation that was fast becoming intolerable. The index of farm prices fell from 205, in 1920, to 63 in 1932, while taxes mounted from 96 million at the beginning of this period to almost 110 million in 1930. Foreclosures rose from two in 1921 to 476 in 1928 and involved 96,000 acres. These checks to rural vertical mobility precipitated crises and the outbreaks resulted.

Planned, premeditated group attempts at reorganization are termed reform or revolution. The last national election revealed the unexpected strength of the

Wisconsin Progressives and the Farmer-Labor Party who may become the cornerstone of a new national liberal organization if the present administration continues conservative. Revolution is a possibility if the lack of success of the President leads him to take more drastic steps and thus stimulates a fascist growth that might get beyond control, leaving only revolution as a way out.

The NRA was our first great attempt at a scientifically planned national economy. The FERA represents a magnificent attack on destitution as do the AAA and the other recovery administrations. But despite the greatest army of Federal employees since the World War, now numbering 661,094, and over 60 emergency organizations, prosperity has not returned. Dr. Harry Lurie in a recent article,<sup>1</sup> speaks of the "relative failure of the New Deal," and points out that its main activities have been directed toward the restoration of private business. In relief the program has been based on rules of thumb, middle-class ideals, and stereotypes, such as, "he that eats must work." Mr. Hopkins is apparently restrained both by his own beliefs and the residual force of industrial institutions from vigorously pushing such really significant and reconstructive programs as Civil Works, rural rehabilitation, and the production of commodities by the unemployed for their own use. "I am committed to the capitalist system," *Fortune* reports him to have said, and on November 23, he issued the order (under compulsion we suspect) to discontinue the minimum hourly wage of thirty cents. The Federal Government has not yet assumed full responsibility for the relief of the able-bodied unemployed, nor has the Administration agreed

to push a comprehensive national social insurance program.<sup>2</sup> The relief that is given is not yet adequate, though great progress has been made, for which considerable credit is due Mr. Hopkins, and on the whole the FERA seems to be preparing to back water, with the proviso that "no one shall starve." Simultaneously, as Mr. Frank Bane, Director of the American Public Welfare Association, pointed out in the September number of the *Social Service Review*, "other welfare services (hospitals, children's work, pensions, and the like) in most of the states and localities of the country have been slowly . . . breaking down. . . . Blind, hysterical, unplanned economy programs have been the rule."

Outside the relief field but closely connected with social reconstruction is the experiment known as the TVA. During the past few months ice and fuel companies in Tennessee and Alabama have been able to strike at the very life of this socially significant project through the Federal courts. Thus again, it is apparent that we are still in the center of the cycle of organization, disorganization, and reorganization: disintegration may have to proceed further before reconstruction is possible.

There are approximately 40,000 more or less trained social workers in the United States today, including more than 8,000 members of the AASW, and God knows how many untrained relief workers in addition. As a composite body of professional and non-professional social technicians, what is their rôle in this process of reconstruction? Can the social worker accept the present order of things? If he cannot, what is he going to do about it?

<sup>1</sup> "The New Deal—Summary and Appraisal," *Annals of the Amer. Acad.*, 176: 172-185, November, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> Since this paper was written the WPA has been put into operation and the Social Security Bill passed. The value of both still remains to be determined.



## EFFORTS OF SOCIAL WORKERS TOWARD SOCIAL REORGANIZATION

ELLERY F. REED

*Cincinnati Community Chest*

THIS paper presents the thesis that social workers are effectively promoting social reorganization. Social workers, of course, like professors and members of other professions, have their limitations from the standpoint of promoting social change and there are conservative influences operative in social work, but these will be presented in another paper. It is the assignment of this paper to present the influence of social workers toward social reorganization.

Only a few aspects of the subject, however, can be here presented. The fields of public health, housing, leisure time, and child welfare will necessarily be neglected and the major attention given to social workers in the family welfare and relief field as these have related themselves to the matter of social reorganization. It will, furthermore, be necessary to omit discussion of some very interesting specialized phases of relief activity recently developed by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, such as Relief Production Units (Self Help Projects), Civil Works Administration, Rural Rehabilitation, including purchase and withdrawal of marginal lands from agricultural uses and their improvement as public forest and park reserves, relocation of families from "stranded populations," the financing of musicians and artists in production of high class free concerts and art, student aid, etc. Some, if not all, of these appear to bear germs of a new social order and may be highly valuable as experiments in social reorganization, but this paper will deal with the more common and prosaic aspects of direct relief and work relief, of which the above

Federal Emergency Relief Administration experiments are modifications.

Unfortunately relief is still the principal resource in this country for meeting the needs of the unemployed. Although the majority of social workers are still engaged in such relief work, they recognize it as a symptom of social maladjustment and this paper will indicate that they are generally interested in such social reorganization as will make relief unnecessary. But even with the development of various forms of social insurance, public works programs, and a better planned economic system, the destructive effects of the depression and of the present social order have been so great that a good deal of relief will be necessary for many years.

What then can be said for relief and relief workers from the standpoint of social reorganization? While relief work aims primarily at alleviation and prevention of immediate suffering, it will be here represented that such work when maintained according to good standards by qualified case workers may serve the ends of fundamental social reorganization.

The term "social reorganization" in this paper will be used in the broad evolutionary as well as in the revolutionary sense. The improvement of standards and administration of public relief will therefore in itself be regarded as a worthwhile phase of social reorganization, but the relation of social workers to the more far reaching aspects of social development will be the principal object of analysis.

The depression years have brought radical reorganization of the ways and means of meeting relief needs in this

country. For some years social workers, particularly as represented in the Family Welfare Association of America, have advocated that relief of the chronically disabled plus those whose dependency arose out of the maladjustments of society rather than personal deficiencies, should be cared for by public or tax-supported agencies rather than by private agencies. Until recently private agencies in this country were carrying a large share of the general outdoor relief burden.

In 1929, if Detroit is left out of the picture, public outdoor relief departments in 22 large cities contributed only 31 per cent of the outdoor relief while private agencies contributed 35 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Five years later, in August, 1934, these private agencies contributed only 1.9 per cent. Mothers Aid, Old Age Relief, and allowances for the blind accounted in this recent month for 5.7 per cent, and the remaining 92.4 per cent, including veterans, relief, was from public funds; Federal, State and local.<sup>2</sup> In the second quarter of 1934, 73.9 per cent of the public funds administered by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration were supplied by the Federal Government, 11 per cent by the States, and 15.1 per cent by local governments.<sup>3</sup>

There was thus developed in a very brief

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Griffith, Helen R. Jeter, A. W. McMillen, *Registration of Social Statistics, 1929*. A Report submitted to the Joint Committee of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago, October 1, 1930; page 3, Table 12-29. The remaining 34 per cent of relief in these cities in 1929 was accounted for in Mothers' Aid.

<sup>2</sup> Monthly Bulletin of Social Statistics, Vol. II, No. 10, October, 1934, U. S. Children's Bureau, p. 8, Table IV.

<sup>3</sup> Bulletin 3670 (Revised) Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research and Statistics, October 10, 1934; Obligations Incurred for Unemployment Relief from Public Funds, by Source of Funds. Second Quarter, 1934.

period not only an overwhelming proportion of public as contrasted to private relief, but there was also a revolutionary departure from the principle of local responsibility for poor relief embodied in our laws since the colonial period.

In these major aspects of social reorganization in the relief field social workers have played an important part. While federal relief was still in general disfavor and opposed by leading business and capital interests as well as by federal authorities, Mr. William Hodson, then of the New York Welfare Council, on October 13, 1931, addressed an open letter to President Hoover urging consideration of federal relief. The American Association of Social Workers in December, 1931, and January, 1932, took an active part in organizing the notable Senate hearings on unemployment relief needs, and leading social workers there spoke strongly on behalf of carefully administered but outright grants of federal relief. Some social workers, including Mr. C. M. Bookman, although convinced of the need of federal relief grants, counselled the more conservative beginnings represented in the provision of \$300,000,000 in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act for loans to states and localities for unemployment relief. This act was followed a year later in the spring of 1933 by that establishing the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (HB-4606-73rd Congress) which represented more nearly the idea of the majority of social workers. Thus social workers, together with a little group of socially minded senators, particularly Senators Costigan, LaFollette, Wagner, and Cutting, are to be credited with initiating this revolutionary reorganization of relief in this country.

The legislation creating the Federal Emergency Relief Administration limited its life to two years which means that it

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will cease to exist on May 12, 1935 unless continued by further legislation. The American Association of Social Workers and the American Public Welfare Association have both passed public resolutions<sup>4</sup> and are now actively working for a permanent modernized system of poor relief, with federal, state, and county participation. Representatives of both of the above organizations of social workers have recently participated in the work of a Special Committee on Re-Employment and Relief Advisory to the President's Committee on Economic Security.

Both Mr. Hopkins, FERA Administrator, and President Roosevelt himself stated quite positively, before the Community Chest Mobilization Conference, September 28, 1934, that the old rule of local responsibility still held and that the Federal Government was still in the relief picture only temporarily. Nevertheless, social workers are striving for and are still hopeful of achieving permanent social reorganization along federal lines for relief and welfare purposes in this country in the near future.

The viewpoint is not uncommon that social workers, in their efforts to present to government officials, Community Chest contributors and others, the extent of need for relief funds are merely playing into the hands of shrewd politicians and capitalists in showing them how far they must yield and what policies they must pursue in order to preserve the political and economic status quo.<sup>5</sup> Community Chests have in fact during the present depression made some use of the argument that beneficiaries of the present social

order should regard contributions for social work, particularly for relief, as insurance against riots, crime, and even revolution.

Failure of society to grant relief, when relief is widely needed, tends to produce demonstrations, riots and crime, but not revolution. Vigorous revolutionary movements are not generated or sustained by a starving population, for such soon became weak and indifferent to every interest except the immediate quest for food and shelter. The world has always had starving groups and populations, sometimes very large ones, while public, individualized relief is a recent device of the western world; in other words, relief as we know it, is a characteristic of the most dynamic societies of history. To argue, therefore, that relief work prevents radical change in the social order is to be blind to the fact that the absence of relief has not in itself so resulted in the past. More than deprivation is necessary to sustain a revolution.

Periods of revolutionary change have been characterized by a fermentation of ideas;—ideas of democracy, of equal rights and worth of all men, of a wider distribution of wealth and opportunity, of the possibility of a higher standard of life for the worker, ideas that the institutions of society can and should be changed. Such ideas grow rank in the mind of the masses when their standard of living and their sense of security is depressed, when they have seen and tasted a better life and then are deprived of such. Strong and bold, if not wise, leaders are likely then to rise and to find spirited followers ready for radical adventure. They will support "new deals" or more radical movements if starvation does not drive out every other interest.

Well organized and administered relief makes unnecessary the complete absorp-

<sup>4</sup> Report of the Conference on "Government Objectives in Social Work," Washington, February, 1934. *The Compass*, March, 1934, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Mary Van Kleeck. "Our Illusions Regarding Government." *Proceedings*, National Conference of Social Work, 1934, p. 478.

tion of the recipients in the immediate quest for food and gives them time and energy to acquire new ideas. Groups such as those on relief who are denied the normal satisfactions inherent in earning an independent livelihood readily accept ideas of the fundamental injustice of the present social order and the need for radical change. Social workers in supplying relief help to avert the disorder and crime born of desperation, and at the same time they supply the physical basis for the more far reaching movements of social reorganization. Well trained social workers particularly are constantly urging adequate relief, not on the grounds of social reorganization it is true, but because they know how important it is for the client himself as well as for society that his physical and mental health and morale be maintained.

Social workers are also promoting social change through the education of clients to a higher standard of life. As pointed out above, one of the elements which stirs people to demand a new social order is the acquirement of a higher standard of living than they are able to maintain and which they feel there is little prospect of achieving under the existing social order. Social workers are doing much to educate their clients to the importance of a correct diet, of prompt and adequate medical and dental care, decent housing, cleanliness, and education for their children. Besides having the importance of these matters impressed upon them by discussion with case workers, many clients have enjoyed for the first time a taste of some of these things through the assistance of relief agencies. What then may well be their reaction when a regular job is found, the agency withdraws its service, and the client finds that on regular wages he cannot buy some of the things which he and his family enjoyed at the hands of the agency?

A third way in which trained social workers in the relief field are helping fundamentally to bring about a new social order is in the reorientation of clients from the still prevalent viewpoints of "rugged individualism" to the newer social philosophy dictated by the interdependent, complex society of today. It is the common observation of social workers that one of the most general and serious problems which they have to meet is the psychology of defeat and inferiority on the part of their clients, and this is frequently most serious in those clients who have been independent, thrifty, and industrious. The mores of our time and country relative to relief have been the outgrowth of the philosophy of individualism as developed by Adam Smith, Malthus, and other classical economists. The attitude characteristic of America has been that any man who wanted to work could find a job, that dependency was a certain sign of bad management, lack of ambition, resourcefulness and energy. In spite of the obvious breakdown of our economic system during the depression it is still a common conviction that a large proportion of those on the relief rolls would not work if they were offered a job and alleged instances of such are constantly cited by laymen.

A reflection of this general attitude is seen in the sense of failure and inferiority on the part of the unemployed themselves and particularly on the part of those who are forced to accept relief. This is a natural reaction on the part of persons imbued from their earliest years with the American tradition of individualism and the materialistic standard of success. Nels Anderson in his study, *The Homeless in New York City*, found these men generally to blame themselves, or economic conditions which could not be changed as the cause of their plight. Although they had been subjected to the harshest conditions



of neglect, and although most of them were anxious to work, they were generally not rebellious or radical in their attitude toward the social order.<sup>6</sup> As a result of such traditional ideology on the part of the unemployed, America has had as a product of the depression a tragic crushing of the spirit of millions of its workers rather than the growth of large and vigorous radical parties.

Here again it is the professionally qualified social worker rather than the untrained person who is making a real contribution toward social change and progress. The untrained worker dealing with the dependent unemployed client usually evidences one or the other of two extreme attitudes, both of which tend to confirm the client's sense of defeat, discouragement and inferiority. One of these attitudes is that of condescending, patronizing sympathy, characterized by lady bountiful, at least until her recipients fail to show proper gratitude, or do something of which she disapproves. The unprofessional person then characteristically swings quickly to the other extreme of hard-boiled intolerance which blames the individual for his unfortunate condition and bids him starve or find work. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of social reorganization as well that of the individual client, thousands of persons without proper case work training are employed in our relief and work relief programs. Some of the most intolerant individuals in their treatment of clients are observed to be those who have themselves been recruited from the relief rolls.

It is the trained social case worker with a good background of sociology, economics, and psychology, who is laboring tactfully, patiently, and skillfully with the victims of unemployment, seeking to restore and preserve their morale, pointing

out over and over again to clients that they are not to regard their unemployment as a personal failure and calling attention to the fact, that they, along with thousands and millions of others, are the victims of a breakdown of the economic system. Trained workers, although strongly in favor of work for clients when such can be found, at reasonable wages and under proper conditions, avoid using withdrawal of relief as a threat to club clients into accepting jobs which they sometimes resist as representing a further evidence of humiliation and failure. Thus by interpreting to clients their own situation and by generous, understanding and sympathetic, though objective treatment, the clients' self-respect and courage is renewed. Not only is the client's attention definitely directed toward finding work and toward such limited, temporary and personal adjustments as may be possible, but also the psychology of personal defeat is often changed by a new understanding of the social causes of their unemployment. This frequently leads to an interest in ways, means, and movements for social change and reorganization. This is not to say that professional social workers are preaching to clients the gospel of a new social commonwealth. For this they have neither the time nor qualifications but they are striving, and oftentimes effectively, to sustain the spirit, energy, courage, and initiative of their clients; and this may find new and interesting outlets.

During most of the past history of this country ambition on the part of the people to have a more complete life has found outlet along individualist channels. The unemployed, fired by the urge to better their lot, have migrated to the West and have become pioneers in virgin territory. This outlet is now closed, and it is not unreasonable to expect that a working class whose spirit and health has been

<sup>6</sup> Welfare Council of New York City, Research Bureau (Mimeograph Edition, p. 363).

preserved, who have learned new and better standards of life, and whose social philosophy has been modernized may turn their energies in the direction of social reorganization. Is there not reason to think that relief, supplemented by the services of well trained case workers, far from being a bulwark of the status quo, may be preparing the seed bed for revolutionary social change?

Social case workers may not generally be conscious of such an objective, or aware that their techniques and standards are contributing to any such end. There are, however, evidences that the majority of well qualified case workers would be greatly heartened to believe that their efforts were contributing to create a spirited, dynamic working class insistent upon achieving a better social order, rather than developing a cowed, whipped proletariat, capable of indefinite exploitation by a ruling class or a dictator.

The former result seems more likely in view of the progressive social attitudes generally evident among social workers. Their progressive attitudes toward social change are indicated in many ways. The Recommendations of the Conference on Government Objectives for Social Work held in Washington last February under the auspices of the American Association of Social Workers represented an official expression on the part of qualified members of the profession.

The Conference went on record in its formal recommendations as follows:

We recognize our responsibility as social workers not only to advocate a national program of public welfare, but likewise to point out definite methods by which such objectives can be achieved. We recognize that our social problems arise, not out of inherent limitations in either the wealth or the productive capacity of the nation but rather out of our faulty distribution of wealth.

We urge increases of income taxes, progressive increases in the higher brackets, and increases in the excess profits and inheritance taxes.<sup>7</sup>

An interesting side light on the temper of the Conference is revealed by the fact that the author of this paper was almost literally "howled down" as a conservative when he opposed a motion in favor of higher graduated income and inheritance taxes *as a means of redistributing wealth*. His opposition was based on the fact that the Conference was discussing ways and means of financing relief needs and, furthermore, that a group of social workers had no special competence to recommend ways and means of redistributing wealth. The motion as originally put, however, was overwhelmingly carried.

The general attitude of social workers is shown not only by the pronouncements of the American Association of Social Workers, but also by the fact that preferment and prestige is freely extended by social workers to members of the profession who by many would be regarded as radical. An illustration of this is seen in the awarding of the two Pugsley prizes at the last National Conference of Social Work to papers, one of which challenged social workers in their professional associations to "define our goals, examine the foundations, and reach our own clear decisions as to whether capitalism, private ownership, and profit making are to be retained, or whether the resources of this country are to be utilized in a socialized, planned economy for the raising of standards of living and the establishment of security of livelihood of the people."<sup>8</sup> The paper was critical of the New Deal as "designed to sustain property by credits and to

<sup>7</sup> See footnote 4, p. 89.

<sup>8</sup> Mary Van Kleeck. "Our Illusions Regarding Government." *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1934, p. 483.

encourage restrictions on production in the interest of maintaining profits."<sup>9</sup>

The other Pugsley paper presented the thesis that social work can attain essential unity as a profession only as social workers commonly seek such in helping to build a new society. This second Pugsley paper stated:

Our task is to project a conception of society which is sufficiently revolutionary on the one hand to eliminate accumulated evils and at the same time sufficiently indigenous to our cultural tradition to insure workability. We do not need an either/or symbol for this purpose. But we do need enough clarity of mind and courage to envisage the outlines of a new social order which must include, I believe, (a) a high degree of collectivism in economics, (b) functionalism in governments, (c) integrity in education, and (d) social reality in ethics.

"I assume that it might be possible for us to build a new society based upon the following changes:

- (a) A redistribution of national wealth achieved through rational taxation and a new index for wages proportionate to production.
- (b) Circumscribed control over private property in relation to a national plan.
- (c) Nationalization of utilities, currency, credits and marginal lands.
- (d) Elevation of a large proportion of housing to the status of public utility.
- (e) Socialization of medicine.
- (f) Functionalization of government without abandoning entirely the representative system.
- (g) Insurance against unemployment, old age, illness, and accident."<sup>10</sup>

It is not here implied that these papers were not able and thoughtful ones or that the awards were given because of their advanced views on social reconstruction. The point is rather that representative social workers of today do not withhold honor and recognition to fellow workers whose convictions carry them far ahead of

the times and whose courage causes them boldly to pronounce these convictions.

In conclusion, it appears that social workers, at least in the case work and relief fields, are making a real contribution to social reorganization. This conclusion is supported by the fact that professionally qualified social workers:

1. Are striving for a permanent modernized national system of welfare and relief.
2. Are working to secure adequate relief, where work can not be provided, thus incidentally giving clients time and strength to support movements for social change.
3. Are educating clients to a standard of living higher than many have ever been able to maintain on regular wages.
4. Are making every effort to change the prevailing psychology of defeat and inferiority among clients, and to cultivate one of initiative and pioneering which, under modern conditions, is likely to support movements for social change.
5. Are through their professional organizations making definite pronouncements in favor of fundamental social reorganization.
6. Are extending honors to those taking a courageous stand on questions of social reconstruction thus further indicating a liberal and progressive social attitude.

Finally it should be said again that there are in social work, as in every other profession, conservative influences and individuals, but it has not been the function of this paper to portray the conservative elements. It is, in fact, probably well that social work has a combination of both conservative and dynamic forces, for sound social reorganization must build on what is toward that which ought to be.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 485.

<sup>10</sup> Edward C. Lindeman. "Basic Unities in Social Work." *Proceedings*, National Conference of Social Work, 1934, pp. 514 and 515.

## THE LIMITATIONS OF SOCIAL WORK IN RELATION TO SOCIAL REORGANIZATION

GRACE L. COYLE

*Western Reserve University*

THE subject of this paper by its terms of definition confines the author to the negative side of the question. However much she might enjoy pointing with pride to the notable part which social work can and does play in the changing of our social system, she must here confine her efforts to the rather ungracious task of analyzing why it has not done better.

Before attempting such analysis, however, it seems advisable to define more carefully the terms of this relationship and to make certain distinctions within those terms.

It is unnecessary here to attempt the difficult and usually fruitless task of defining social work. It does seem desirable, however, to recognize certain differentiations within it. In its relation to social reorganization, observation reveals two manifestations, the actions of social agencies themselves as expressed by their governing boards or through established policies, and the actions of social workers as individuals and in professional groups. Agencies in their official capacity may endorse legislation and participate in various movements for social reform. They may adopt policies governing their own activities which have a bearing upon social reorganization, such as a policy for relief for strikers, or the use of their buildings for union or radical meetings, or the inclusion in educational programs of discussion or promotion of certain measures for social change. Some organizations, which are, in a way, on the fringe of social work, such as the American Association for Labor Legislation or the Consumers League, have such activities

as their major function. With many other agencies in the field of child welfare, family case work or group work, such participation in movements for social change may represent an occasional part of the official activity of the agency itself.

In addition to such official action many social workers as individuals and through their professional groups may play their part in similar movements. Both types of activity are included in the general compass of social work but in practice the scope and the limitations of each may be quite different. For the purpose of this paper, therefore, it is fruitful to keep this distinction in mind.

Another distinction seems necessary also in regard to the second term of this relationship—social reorganization. It is obvious from the title of this group of papers that by social reorganization is meant a fundamental rather than a superficial shift in social relations. At this point, however, one's concept of fundamental is as relative as the terms radical and conservative. To some the shift from private to public support of relief is a fundamental reorganization; to others nothing is fundamental which leaves one stone upon another in our present economic and social system. For the purposes of this discussion, the whole gamut will be included but it will become evident that the character of the change, whether relatively superficial or fundamental, will play a large part in the limitation felt by social work in relation to it.

Any attempt to bring about social reorganization is likely to express itself most obviously in movements or causes. It may well be claimed that the changes



wrought in individual lives through case work techniques are the only sound way to social reorganization, or it could be said that such reorganization comes about by way of what William James calls a "molecular process" in the social body, by which customs and mores gradually shift to a new alignment. For the purposes of this paper, however, it seems feasible to take as the instruments of social reorganization only those organized efforts which are discernible in the form of movements and to ask what is the relation of social work to these collective efforts.

Dr. Neva Deardorff, in an address before the National Conference of Social Work in 1933, in discussing the relation of the social worker to causes makes a distinction which is of especial interest here. She points out that causes are of two kinds, those relating to the conditions of the poor and to public welfare administration, and more general causes such as good government, economic reform, etc. To the first of these she assumes the social worker may have a special connection because of his knowledge of the problem. With the second type, she seems to feel the social worker is less immediately involved. While such a distinction might be criticized on the ground that it confines social work largely to the field of case work and to its dealing with the poor, it is significant because it is a distinction often used by social workers themselves in discussing the legitimacy of their participation in movements of various kinds.

With these distinctions in mind, therefore, we can confront the question. Is it in some measure the function of social work (either social agency or social worker) to be related to the movements for social reorganization? If so, is its part limited only to those causes specifically related to

its special knowledge of the unfortunate? Or is it related as well to the more remote social forces creating the present type of disorganized society with whose products it deals?

The answers to these questions have been various in the history of social work. Like the smile of the Cheshire Cat, the interest in social reorganization has come and gone and come again. In its early history social work was itself a cause and embraced within itself as well the advocates of many movements. In his Presidential Address at the National Conference of Social Work in 1929, Porter Lee pointed out that social work was outgrowing its cause aspect and becoming instead a function of organized social life, requiring intelligence rather than zeal, administrators rather than prophets. While he gave due honor to the prophets of the past and to the need of the prophetic in civilization, he put the weight of his approval on the concentration upon the more efficient performance of routine functional responsibility. The wide acceptance of this philosophy would limit social work not only in practice but in objectives to a field in which social reorganization would have small part. Any philosopher reconstructing the philosophy of social work would no doubt attach great significance to the fact that this pronouncement was made in the spring of 1929.

Within three years, the climate of opinion had greatly changed. Social workers in their organized capacity through the American Association of Social Workers were playing an active part in advising the government on its relief policies (a cause of the first type described by Dr. Deardorff). And further, many of the younger or more radical members of the profession were demanding that social workers assume a more active part in

causes of the second type dealing with unemployment insurance, old age pensions, income taxation, and the like. By May 1933, the Committee on Federal Action on Unemployment of the American Association of Social Workers which was set up to provide a channel for social workers to take up the cause of unemployment relief had proposed a program of National Economic Objectives for Social Work which takes the first steps along the way of fundamental reorganization. Since that time this interest has shown increasing development in several national conferences of the American Association of Social Workers. Many individual social workers and some local chapters of the American Association have taken similar action.

This recrudescence of the interest in social reorganization is, of course, a symptom of the times. But it suggests that however much social work may become a well-established function of organized society, the prophetic spirit and the addiction to causes may prove to be not merely a mood of its adolescence but a permanent part of its functional life. It is perhaps advisable to provide here the necessary grains of salt to be taken with what follows by admitting that the author is one who believes this to be the case. She is convinced—that is—that among the social functions of social work is that of playing some part in the process of social reorganization—not only at the point of those services to the poor with which the technical skill of the case worker may deal but also at the point of those social and economic conditions which produce so much of the need for social work.

Those who believe that social work should assume such a responsibility are, of course, all too aware of the limitations which in practice hamper its performance. We shall consider them here from two

angles; those which arise out of the economic basis of social work itself and those which arise out of the attitudes of social workers, recognizing, of course, the close interdependence of the latter upon the former.

One does not have to be an economic determinist to recognize the controlling part played by the source of support of any social activity. As an institution or a collection of services such as social work becomes very large and requires large sums for its maintenance, there are only two sources from which it can draw, the large gifts of the wealthy or the many small contributions of a large group, collected either by taxation or by voluntary methods.

Any participation by social work in movements for social reorganization obviously endangers its support in proportion to the fundamental character of the movements and to their deviation from accepted opinions. This does not mean that along an extensive front moderate but essential modifications of present social institutions cannot be effected. These include such movements as those which led to the establishment of our juvenile courts, the progress of public health, or shifts in the administration of relief. All institutional change comes only with devoted and persistent effort, but the accomplishments of social work in this type of social reorganization while undoubtedly limited by inertia, vested interest and ignorance, are considerable. It is here that the author believes is the most likely field for increasing efforts by social work through the agencies themselves. While each field of social work can and probably should concentrate on those problems nearest to its special interest, e.g., the children's field or measures protecting child life, the health field on public health, etc., the total

effect of all these efforts could undoubtedly bring about much needed reforms over a large front. The limitations which function here seem to be not so much related to the economic support of the agency as to its conception of its function and to the attitudes of social workers. (See below.)

*Fundamental* social reorganization, however, requires a more profound shift in human values and in institutional arrangement than is involved in such changes. There can be little doubt today that any such fundamental change must deal primarily with our economic life. Many social workers confronted with the mass of relief clients today are beginning to realize this and when our economists tell us that even reviving prosperity if or when it comes will still leave us with millions of unemployed, the futility of the case by case method of dealing with the problem is increasingly obvious. The flood must be stopped at its source, not mopped up by the bucket full, however scientifically modelled the bucket. For this reason, many social workers are beginning to look further upstream for the source of the trouble. It is inevitable that where the resulting proposals for reorganization touch the sphere of economic relations social work should feel the limitations arising out of its base of support. The wealthy who are the greatest beneficiaries of the present economic arrangements naturally feel their position threatened by any movement designed to strengthen the position of the worker, to interfere with their control of the means of production or to curtail other sources of privilege.

Wide support, either by many small givers or by taxation, does not create much greater freedom for efforts at reorganization. Except in times of revolution, the great majority of the people who

have money enough either to give to community funds or to be taxed are not willing to consider proposals for radical reorganization. Proposals for social reorganization to obtain either the interest or the consent of the bulk of our communities must be only slight deviations from the status quo. This is in many ways a necessary and valuable protection from hasty and ill-advised proposals. It means, however, that agencies supported by the large numbers who fall within the contributing class will feel themselves limited as agencies to support of the measures which move only slightly from the existing institutions. Minority groups with small budgets may work for programs of social reorganization which deviate further from the status quo but for the bulk of social work requiring as it does large sums and the support of a majority of the giving public, it is unlikely that agencies, as agencies, will ever be found in the right wing of moves for fundamental social change.

Mr. Bookman of Cincinnati probably voiced the consensus of opinion among community chest executives in his statement before the American Sociological Society a few years ago, that organizations with new or propaganda programs do not belong in the chest. Since few large organizations can survive outside the chest, this policy, reasonable as it is, certainly acts to produce conformity with majority opinion and existing institutions.

Illustrations of the way in which economic determinism makes itself felt can be found in the experience of any social worker who has attempted to work for social reorganization especially where it touched economic questions. It would require a research study to do justice to the extent and variety of these pressures. The author can only state for purposes of making the situation concrete a few

illustrations which have come within her observation. Often the pressure exerted and the fear evidenced seem all out of proportion to any possible result which might come from the activity. There was, for example, the evening when the president of a state manufacturers association, also a donor to the organization, walked in to find a group of factory girls being shown a film on conditions of work produced by the Women's Bureau of the Federal department of Labor. He protested violently on the ground that such movies would "make them think." Similar disapproval and threats of economic reprisal have occasionally followed discussions of economic questions by employed groups within agencies, the use of buildings for strike meetings and the production of labor plays. On one occasion a woman prominent in labor circles addressed a small committee meeting one afternoon. The following day the executive of the local community chest called the executive of the agency to protest. To those who know such activities intimately the likelihood that they will rock the ship of state seems indeed remote, but the disturbance they cause is convincing evidence of the attitudes of wealthy givers and of the social pressure against them. Similar objections and pressure could be cited against the legislative activities of agencies and occasionally against the participation of their staff in movements for social change.

Even with public support by taxation, this sensitiveness to economic relations makes itself felt, as for example in the protest last fall on the federal policy of feeding textile strikers. When local poor relief officers more susceptible to influence were in control there were reported cases where the stated federal policy was disregarded entirely. Disturbances in several communities in recent months arising out

of workers' education schools or classes under the FERA program indicate again the sensitive point in our social system.

It would seem, therefore, that social work is limited in any attempt at participation in social reorganization by its support whether it comes from wealthy givers or from a widespread public. In the prosperous twenties when few questioned the justice of our economic system, the pressure from the wealthy few and from the satisfied many, though differing perhaps in motive, was alike in its results. Social workers might work if they cared to for modifications of our social system so long as they did not go far from the status quo and so long as they did not touch seriously the question of the economic equilibrium. In these times when public opinion is less favorable to the chief benefactors of our system there may appear a divergence in the influence of these two factors. As the whole of public opinion moves to the left as it has been doing, the support of measures like unemployment insurance, for example, formerly considered radical comes within the purview of social work *because* the proposal has now moved into the range of a slight deviation from the norm of public opinion.

Within these limitations, however, there are certain exceptions which can be cited. Though the bulk of social work is unlikely to advocate fundamental economic change, certain agencies as agencies are still able to go some distance in this direction. This is sometimes due to a liberal tradition in a particular organization; sometimes to a small budget; sometimes to that fortunate inconsistency by which givers do not always scrutinize with an economic eye what the left hand is doing with their money. Not all boards of directors are made up of economic men. To the sociologist this inconsistency may be merely the evidence



of the tendency to assume varying rôles in different groups. To the psychiatrist, it may represent a dark and illegitimate escape from reality. But to the practical social worker interested in the endorsement of certain measures, the inconsistently liberal position of the economic man (or frequently his wife) on occasion provides a delightful surprise. It does not happen often enough, however, to cast real discredit upon the economic determinist or to turn social work as a whole into radical channels.

In addition to these situations where within limits agencies as such can participate in social change, there is the opportunity of the social worker as an individual or in groups to play some part. Whether the social worker can as an individual or in his professional groups go further than his agency policy is one of those questions to be settled not by deductive reasoning but by observation. Logic would point to the fact that his salary comes from those same funds and that it is upon his actions and opinions that economic pressure is brought to bear. This is often true. Observation, however, shows that the fortunate inconsistency of life frequently allows him a longer tether. He can range, if he wishes, further into the field of those causes related to his specialty or he can even, if he dare, question the foundations of society itself. Tethered he is still to be sure as everyone is in our "immoral" society but it is a long rope in many cases. Some use it to hang themselves by quite successfully, but others find within its limitations scope for a thorough-going and persistent backing of fundamental social and economic change.

Why is it then that more of the forty thousand social workers are not active in the movement for social reorganization? That they are not is a commonly observed

fact. As it is stated in the report of the Committee on Federal Action on Unemployment of the American Association of Social Workers, "there has been a tendency on the part of social workers to avoid expression and activity concerning major economic issues. The disadvantage of their attitude inheres in the fact that through a lack of positive expression the social worker thereby aligns himself with reactionary elements and with laissez faire methods of social organization."

Any good Marxian would put such hesitancy down to purely economic motives—rooted in the need for a job and the class alignment of the social worker with the hand that feeds him. While not minimizing the economic motives, even a superficial acquaintance with social workers would make one hesitate to impute to this cause the major part of the lack of active support of the measures for social reorganization.

It is in fact not so much to the vices as to the virtues of the social worker that one must look to discover these causes. The very essence of social work is the concern for the individual and his welfare—the attention to this, individual by individual. While case workers are not all of the social workers, they are the majority and the philosophy and techniques of case work dominate the scene. This very absorption in the problems of the individual turns the mind away from the consideration of social phenomena of a general character. Alice Cheyney in her pamphlet on the *Nature and Scope of Social Work* points out an interesting result of the application to individual treatment of scientific method. "It is," she says, "a paradox of this modern development of philanthropy that scientific method should have led away from generalization and formula and to a separation of the individual from the category and the predica-

ment. They (social workers) study official records of vagrancy and extract from them information about vagrants. . . ."

One might think that as case piled upon case, certain similarities would appear and certain generalizations become inevitable—among them generalizations about the coincidence of certain social factors and certain maladjustments. One school of thought among case workers of which Mrs. Ada Sheffield is an example, is pursuing this method in the attempt to discover typical patterns of relationship existing between the factors operating in a number of cases. Such a habit of mind would soon reveal significant relations between social and economic factors and the case worker's problems. It is by that road that the promoters of causes went from case work to industrial reform. If Miss Cheyney is correct in her study, however, the effect of intensive individuation in treatment has not usually been the development of the habit of generalization, but rather the concentration upon the individual alone. This is undoubtedly the prime virtue of the social worker. It may become also the basis for a myopia in which he sees no woods for the trees. Social reorganization is concerned primarily with the woods and until he senses their presence, the social worker is liable not to recognize the need for an extensive program of expert forestry.

This tendency to see the individual chiefly and sometimes solely has of course been strengthened by the great contributions of psychiatry within recent years. As case work has "gone psychiatric" it has not only concentrated upon the individual, it has further centered upon his emotional life, giving decreasing attention to environmental factors social and economic. It has even been claimed at times that the ills that beset the unemployed could be met by proper emotional adjust-

ment. A pamphlet on *Morale*, issued by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in 1933 contains suggestions "for relieving the emotional strains and raising the morale of those who are made insecure." Social workers "leaving to others the task of fundamental reconstruction" are to undertake the job of "trying to discover in the morale-stricken unemployed some personal resource that will help them to bear hardship either because it must be borne in order to reach a goal ahead, or because the compensations and emotional outlets of the resource are so satisfying that in them hardship can be partially robbed of its discomfort and made tolerable."

As Harry Lurie has pointed out in a recent article, such an approach to individuals under present conditions not only makes no contribution to the fundamental economic problems of our day, but produces a kind of smoke screen of illusions through which it becomes difficult for social workers to discern the inherently social nature of the problem with which they are confronted.

In addition to its concentration upon the inner world of personality, psychiatry has further decreased the drive for social reorganization by sometimes adopting the rôle of the passive agent devoid of social aims or norms. While some psychiatrists like Frankwood Williams are recognizing the importance of social reorganization as the way to make individual adjustment possible, one of the influences which has been potent in social work recently has been that which not only made social factors relatively unessential but which made the formulation of social goals a doubtful practice.

Another aspect of the psychiatric approach has had its bearing upon the attitudes of social workers on social reorganization. This is the psychoanalytic

emphasis on the early life of the child and on sexual adjustment and a relatively undeveloped interest in adult relations outside the family. In a time when economists and political theorists are emphasizing the growth of the collective spirit, the increasing importance of our complex group life in all phases of experience and the necessity for our understanding how to develop new and adequate collective forms for our economic and political institutions, the rôle of the group in the life of individuals has received relatively little attention from psychiatrists. Certain of them go further and treat group loyalty as an adolescent habit to be superseded normally by the sex relation. Since the interest in social reorganization is not only expressed largely through groups but is concerned necessarily with these new collective forms, this emphasis also serves to divert attention from social action.

While case workers have been drawing the breath of inspiration from psychiatry, many group workers adopted with equal enthusiasm the theories of progressive education. The results in the attitudes here being considered were curiously similar. While case work in some of its aspects was developing the idea of the passive rôle of the worker in relation to his client, the group worker who was nurtured on Dewey and Kilpatrick had become equally passive for fear of dominating his group and so destroying their God-given initiative. As with case work, this position in its extreme form tended to neutralize the worker's social objectives as well and to lead to a disparagement of social conviction and action on social questions. In the case of the group workers affected by this theory, this attitude has recently undergone some change. Not only has all of progressive education tended to react from its extreme position

on self-determination but in particular discussion has raged over the problems of social objectives in education. This in turn has tended to restore certain initiative to the group leader and to revive his interest in social reorganization.

Other factors too have served to prevent the growth of interest in programs of social reorganization among social workers. One of the most significant has probably been the contacts which social workers have had with some of the protest groups promoting change. Two types of groups are perhaps of particular importance—the labor movement and the organized unemployed. Contacts with the labor movement are likely to be at points which give trouble to the social worker—workers go on strike, and need relief, employment opportunities are only open to union members, men refuse jobs at less than union pay, etc. Otherwise the social worker has as little contact with the unions as any other middle class person. Through a questionnaire sent out by the American Association of Family Social Work some years ago, it was found that only 7 per cent of the family societies reporting had any representation of labor on their boards of directors. This is probably as good a showing as any field of social work could make. It is obvious that with no interpretation of the interests of labor being made continuously, the total impression made by these sporadic contacts at points of difficulty is likely to be unfavorable.

The recent experience with the organized unemployed undoubtedly tends even more strongly in the same direction. In this case, the agitation is directed against the social workers themselves. They would perhaps be superhuman if they could see these protest movements not as the doings of trouble makers or the evidence of psychological maladjustments but as the

healthy and legitimate attempt at social reorganization by a group of those most concerned. Some no doubt do recognize their significance. It is not likely, however, that many social workers have been made more open minded toward either the theories or the methods of such groups by their first hand contact with them. In so far, therefore, as an interest in social reorganization involves an understanding of and perhaps sympathy with the protest movements of our times, the social worker is probably being conditioned by his experience against them.

The discussion of attitudes so far seems to have put much responsibility upon theories of various kinds. It would be entirely unrealistic and certainly indicative of a pre-psychiatric approach to imply that intellectual considerations of any kind played a major part in human behavior. Not theory but the tremendous and overwhelming practice itself limits more than anything else the concern of the social worker. As Dr. Deardorff points out in the paper referred to above—the promotion of causes of any kind does not appear in the job analysis of the social worker. The time and energy required to draw conclusions, to do research, even to belong to organizations promoting social improvement is almost impossible to acquire in the face of the daily demands of the job. The routine requirements of the administrator, the enormous caseloads, the pressure of group programs have probably been more effective than any theory to keep social workers busy in their own grooves and content to leave to others the intricate problems of social reorganization. With such pressure of work, it is not surprising if the social philosophy of many social workers often represents a traditional acceptance of

current views rather than a well-thought out program built from daily experience, reinforced by a broad background of social knowledge.

In a day of individualism, it is easy enough to concentrate upon the individual and believe that his social inadequacies are due to his own maladjustment and not to his environment. The typically individualistic bias of all professional workers further strengthens this natural trend so characteristic of middle class America. It is, therefore, not surprising if the social worker in spite of his constant and continuous contact with the results of our social disorganization does not always take hold of his opportunities, draw conclusions in social terms from his personal observation and throw himself into one or another movement for fundamental reorganization.

To admit these limitations is not to succumb to them. Through the bitter lessons of the depression itself, through a broader education providing more acquaintance with sociological concepts; through a research program which will draw the generalizations which the busy social worker cannot make; through contacts with constructive movements, and perhaps through the necessity for collective action on their own behalf, social workers may change their conception of their functions. There is evidence that this is happening to some extent through the activities of the American Association of Social Workers and through the outstanding efforts of a growing number of individuals. If I have dwelt here upon what social workers have *not* done it should be laid to the prescription given to me and to no belief that the limitations here set forth are insurmountable.



## MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

### POSSIBLE RESEARCH PROJECTS FOR SOCIOLOGISTS AS VIEWED FROM THE FIELD OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT

MARY S. FISHER

*Columbia University*

TO VIEW possible research projects for sociologists, or to view anything else, from the field of child development is all too much like viewing the sovereign state of Illinois from the North American continent. However much the workers in child development would enjoy the experience, they cannot lean on the fence for a neighborly chat with someone in the field on the other side, for the simple reason that there isn't any fence, and there isn't any other side. The field of child development includes practically everything except molecular physics and the geology of Patagonia; and even those subjects probably have implications less remote than it is comfortable to consider. When your problem is to take a human being with several million years of history in his genes and watch—and try to understand—what happens to him as the chemical processes of maturation hurry him toward increased exposure to a complex and overcrowded society so little understood that no one can with certainty label any of its processes as anabolic or katabolic—when that is your problem, you have your moments of wishing that you had a fence: when you envy the happy lot of the scholar who can quietly cultivate his own neat little garden, looking forward to the time when, with one foot

in the grave and the other in the notes, he can call the job done and write Q.E.D. and *Finis*.

In the light of these obvious facts, it is not especially surprising that workers in the field of child development have been uncritical of the data and conclusions contributed by specialists in biology, physiology, psychology, sociology, education, etc. It is clearly outside the range of human achievement for the worker in child development to know, of his own knowledge, what he needs to know and use. He must use the findings, such as they are, of specialists, in the hope that their scholarship is sound—that is, that they know what they are taking about. He has furthermore a peculiar set of temptations from the world at large, in the form of requests from people who want to know "What shall I do?" So many of these requests come in times of crisis, when it is literally impossible to give any but a hasty judgment, because the carefully considered answer will arrive months or years too late. In child development, just as in economics, law, medicine, or morals, an isolated judgment may or may not do harm; but the judgment once made under the stress of emergency tends to get itself repeated when the emergency has vanished. It may even emerge as a for-

mula with a sanctity of its own—as one of those terms which, used too long and too hard, obscure rather than solve problems. Everyone knows that if you rouse a child psychologist or a mental hygienist from a sound slumber he will murmur “security”—just as a sociologist under the same circumstances will say “social trends,” or a Marxian “economic determinism.” For these two reasons, the worker in child development is all too often in a position where the other specialist’s mistake is his starting point.

The sociologist has contributed his full share of confusing data and misleading conclusions. It would be easy to give examples of illogical thinking in the field of sociology. It is not necessary because such criticism is being offered in increasing volume by the sociologists themselves. Healthy and praiseworthy as this tendency of the sociologist to examine his own technique and reasoning unquestionably is, it is perhaps not without significance to remark that some of the most penetrating criticism of sociological methodology has come from a specialist whose experience in the child development field has suggested important lines of research—Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, of Yale.

In the process of developing a precise technique for studying the range of social interaction in different sorts of child-groups, she found it necessary to examine the observer as a scientific instrument. As a result of exceedingly careful experimentation she has shown that systematic errors of observation are an important factor in variability; that distortion of reality quite clearly occurs in observational records; that observational error varies with the situation observed. Indirectly, she pays her respects to studies which, as she says, “stop at the naive stage of reasoning where it is assumed that adequate precision has been obtained if

the records of any given situation made by two observers are highly correlated, or the equally naive stage where it is assumed that precision has been achieved if group or individual stability can be ‘predicted’ within certain limits upon increasing the amount of data by certain proportions.”<sup>1</sup> Dr. Thomas has demonstrated what has not gone entirely unsuspected heretofore: that any observation or series of observations is likely to be a distortion of reality in directions to some extent predetermined by the personality make-up of the investigator. He tends to see what he is looking for, and what he is looking for is to a large extent culturally determined. This in itself opens up a fruitful field for sociological research. In what situations are observational errors most likely to occur? What patterns, if any, do these errors tend to form? What is the relationship between patterns of error and the cultural sanctions of the observer? It might be objected that such research is scarcely worth while, since anyone’s chance of getting at reality is not exactly overwhelming. But the attempt must be made, if the social sciences are to continue taking themselves seriously. The difficulties involved do not relieve us of responsibility. The social sciences are overburdened with inaccurate data: so overburdened, as a matter of fact, that it might not be a bad idea to declare a moratorium on questionnaires and surveys, and direct our efforts toward the creation of cultural patterns for ourselves which will be more definitely characterized by scepticism and objectivity.

It is not within the scope of the intention of this paper to present a detailed scheme for the reform of sociology or any other social science; but the very depend-

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, Loomis, and Arrington: *Observational Studies of Social Behavior*, Vol. I, p. 244. Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1933.

ence of child development on data and conclusions from various fields leads us to hope for an increase in the reliability of those data and conclusions, as well as for investigation in certain important areas which have been neglected. In spite of the fact that sociology is supposed to be the study of man and his human environment in their relationship with each other, it has largely ignored one of its own most fertile approaches; that is, the genetic approach, which is the chief concern of child development. Sociology is inclined to emphasize concepts and to ignore process; to pass over functional relationships in the search for a sterile and largely imaginary objectivity. It has to a great extent ignored the processes by which social institutions come into being, are perpetuated, are changed. Inescapably, the child is the bridge between past and future, and social change may perhaps most profitably be considered as the impact of shifting institutional patterns, not on adults, but rather on what adults do to children. To a great extent, social life arises from tutorial processes in childhood, and here is an opportunity to learn more about institutions by seeing them in the making. Satisfactory techniques for such investigation do not exist; but this is one of the problem areas for which appropriate techniques must be developed.

For example, we do not know how best to study a given age period, say three to five years, as a culturally patterned segment of the life of an individual. We do not know what patterns are laid down, by whom they are laid down, or how. We cannot with any certainty classify patterns of conduct as suppressive, compulsive, permissive, or optional. We cannot answer the following important questions. What are "institutional hurdles" which children have to take—or try to take—at different age levels in different social and

economic groups in order to satisfy cultural demands? How does an individual achieve his personal status? What behavior is a criterion of that blessed word "security?" Is security patterned at various age levels? What is the origin and genetic development of the well-balanced personality as distinguished from the neurotic? The psychiatrist and the psychoanalyst have a great deal to say in answer to that last question; but the relevance of their formulations is in considerable need of determination by the sociologist. Is the Freudian psychology, for example, more than ethnology? Is it good ethnology?

Current psychoanalytical assumptions suggest questions whose answers bear vitally on the validity of the assumptions, and which could be answered in part by the sociologist. How many parents can be found who have actually threatened a child with castration? What are the common childhood experiences of girls who marry men ten years or more older than they are? Do girls whose fathers died while the girls were very young marry more or less easily than the average? Do boys with an organic inferiority such as undescended testes present behavior problems outside the normal range? Do oldest or youngest children diverge from the average in the marriage rate? The answers to these questions, and many more like them, will of course offer only clues to part of a very complex problem; but the answers apparently do not exist, or have no statistical validity. Such items of isolated behavior have little importance independent of the context into which they fit; but they cannot be considered in relation to that context until they have been established. It scarcely needs stating that the validity of psychiatric or psychoanalytic concepts must be established by workers in those disciplines. It is never-

theless true that the sociologist is in a position such that by applying even existing techniques to a sufficiently large number of cases he can furnish evidence extremely useful to any psychiatrist or psychoanalyst who is interested in criticising his own concepts and methods. Furthermore, such evidence is of the greatest importance to the field of child development.

There is another extremely important area which seems to have received little or no attention. We hear a great deal about the transmission of cultural patterns which seems to be based largely on the assumption that where a cultural pattern exists it must have been transmitted. Is that actually the case? May it not be true that large numbers of people may be found acting in pretty much the same way in a given situation, in accordance with a pattern which they have invented rather than received? It is at any rate certainly true that the individual selects, rejects, or modifies cultural patterns; and from that it is perhaps not going too far to say that he creates for himself a pattern of conduct which he has not received, and which he may or may not transmit in his rôle as parent or teacher. For example, it seems to be true that many engaged people have sexual relations with each other before such conduct has been culturally authorized by a marriage ceremony. Yet it is not often one of the cultural patterns which parents hand down to their children. In other words, there is an official cultural pattern covering premarital relationships. There is another, or others, covering extra-marital relationships. There seems to be none covering the area to which reference has just been made. It might be interesting to compare, in a large number of cases, the percentage of married persons who had pre-marital relations with each other and no one else with the

incidence in the same social and economic group of earlier illicit relationships and marital infidelity. Such an investigation might reveal the existence of an unofficial cultural pattern which was not received, but invented out of conflict, and not transmitted. If such a pattern does exist, are there more of them, and what are they? Obviously, there is such a thing as the invention of cultural patterns, or we should not have what is sometimes referred to as progress; but we in the field of child development would very much like to see a statistically respectable study of the process actually going on in some specific time and place.

Another aspect of the problem of the transmission of cultural patterns which deserves more attention is connected with the time element. We all know that cultural patterns are not transmitted instantaneously, like a charge of electricity. The process may cover years of time, and may follow anything but a straight line, particularly in the family situation. Cultural patterns are not inevitable rationalizations of practice. People receive cultural patterns, modify them in their own action, and then transmit them, at least verbally, as originally received. Everyone knows, for example, people who were taught to say their prayers, who would not think of praying under any circumstances, and yet who teach their children to say their prayers. From the point of view of child development, such a confusion of precept and practice may have a more important effect on a child than either the precept or practice, and we should like to know more about the nature, origin, and working out of such situations. In this same connection it might be very profitable, for example, to make a study in three-generation maternal families in representative American groups, of the details of nursery



routine and training which were used by the grandmother, and the way and degree to which the mother's present behavior is a compromise between the way in which she was brought up, her memory reinforced by grandmotherly admonitions, and the standards current in the group to which the mother belongs. It might be found that this resulting compromise contained a large number of contradictory elements which would be very illuminating.

Another study of somewhat similar nature might help us better to understand this process of changing as distinguished from change. It would be possible to investigate more comprehensively than has been done the standards of behavior for the sexes at different age levels in different social settings: clothing, games, manners, interests, and so forth, regarded as correct by parents, by associates of the same sex, opposite sex, older children, and so forth. We are all aware that the social definitions of psycho-sexual rôles are rapidly changing, but there is no information as to the way in which they are changing or the process by which the changes are effected, and what the implications are, for example, of using "sissy" as an abusive term among girls. In other words, accurate information about the child's culture barely exists.

A final group of problems centers around the family. The child development worker is vitally concerned, as has already been indicated, with how the culture (in all its confusion) is transmitted to the developing child and with how he reacts. He is beginning to see social change as the impact of shifting social patterns and cultural rôles not on adults, but rather on what adults do to children. He is particularly interested, or should be, in what patterns are family-transmitted, since it is so generally assumed that the basic emo-

tional patterns are set in the pre-school years. If the individuality of families is a cultural fact, it deserves more wide-spread and skillful attention than it has received—to say nothing of at least a dash of scepticism. Anyone who is working with individuals in child development, in family consultation, or college guidance, is all too keenly aware that this is a problem area in which the necessity for knowledge is inversely proportional to the knowledge available. Too often some cultural rôle in a given family situation acts like an hereditary taint; too often patterns are being perpetuated and encouraged which lead to frustration of basic human relationships. In such situations the best the consultant usually can do is to try to help the individual to gain perspective: some awareness of how and why he got into trouble, and of the fact that his is not a unique misfortune. But all too often the consultant finds himself limited even here by the fact that he does not know enough to warrant his being more than vaguely sympathetic and encouraging. In spite of volumes of more or less impressive historical and statistical studies of the family, in spite of theories and case studies of psychiatrists and analysts, he finds that he knows far too little about the thing most worth knowing about—the dynamical and functional relationships within the family group. The knowledge which he needs can come only from coöperative research—or rather from coöperation in research, which is not at all the same thing—in a great many fields; but there are certain questions which he believes that the sociologist might try to answer.

For example: Do families have complexes? If so, in what areas are they most likely to occur? How have they been built up? Are there family trends toward good or bad adjustment in marriage?

What do children brought up in homes broken by divorce tend to think about marriage? about divorce? How do they compare in this respect with the general population, and with the children of a successful marriage following divorce? How do they get on in marriage? Do they marry at all? Do female siblings tend to marry or not to marry by families? What is true of male siblings in the same respect? Are there family patterns of face-saving? If so, what are they? Is it true that children brought up in non-profit-oriented families such as those of ministers are rather unusually inclined toward non-profit-oriented careers such as scholarship, teaching, and so forth? Do the children in large families tend to become the voluntary parents of large families? Are there families with a pattern of mutual toleration; in what groups do they occur, and why? In brief, are there really demonstrable family patterns? If so, what are they?

Any one of these questions, taken by itself, might seem too trivial for careful investigation. Nevertheless, the sum total of these, and many similar, questions is of dramatic importance, for until they have been answered we shall continue to know little of real value about the family. Attitudes are in part an expression of current practices; they also reflect interests and values which may or may not have been established in common behavior. It is obviously important to know which is which. In a period like ours, which seems to be faced with the necessity of choosing between disaster and more effec-

tive social control, there is no such thing as over-emphasizing the fact that the first step in any intelligent social control is a critical analysis of what is actually taking place. In such a time of crisis, it might be well to center attention on the problem areas, and the dynamics of the family is certainly such an area.

In this connection, Lorimer and Osborn have pointed out in the *Dynamics of Population* that there is a strong drift toward patterns of family living that are incompatible with permanent family replacement among the most educationally privileged groups. They state that there is some reason to believe that this may involve a by no means negligible drift toward undermining one of our most important human resources, a superior capacity for education. In considering such a drift, the child development worker sees the problem as one far too complicated to be explainable in purely economic terms. Granted the economic factors, there are still attitudes and values, transmitted to and modified by individual members of families, which have a great deal to do with the size of their families when they assume the rôle of parents, or refuse to undertake it. To the child development worker, it is this process of transmitting and modifying, rather than its end results, which is of particular and urgent interest. Any light which the sociologist can throw on it will help illumine a particularly dark corner of the field of human relationships. It will, incidentally, work no great harm to sociology.

## NEEDED VIEWPOINTS IN FAMILY RESEARCH

JOHN DOLLARD

*Yale University*

THIS paper is a statement of viewpoints in the field of family research which may help to orient activity.

Little in the presentation is new; a guiding line of thought is the proposal that all methods of family study must finally be related to the experience of persons in the family to receive their full value.

Our most needed viewpoint does not fall within the field of family research at all but is rather one of the total field of social science; it is for a clear, coherent system of concepts which identifies our object of study and permits isolation of important problems for further study. Only within such a frame of reference can study of the family proceed with profit. It seems to some of us, for example, that to describe our task as the study of social interaction is a pertinent statement; others apparently do not find it so useful. Some have reacted to this dilemma by studying social events in bits wherever naïve perception indicates something to study and have tried to make out without an orderly framework for our knowledge. Many minds cannot accept this alternative and continue to strive for a more inclusive view of our field and methods; others still, though recognizing the need of a unified orientation in social science, are unable to use existing concepts and methods. This latter point raises an interesting question. Can a science be said to exist when a correct description of events is found, or must it after that be spread or propagandized until it has mastered the minds of competent persons in the field? If the answer to the first question is "yes," what do you call the concept system between the time it is fashioned and the time that its utility is widely granted? When one con-

siders, for example, the years of passive indoctrination required before a person in our society can see the relevance of a mathematical demonstration, one is less likely to dismiss this point without reflection. It may be a long time yet before the idea of the social nature of conduct, even in its present rather general form, is widely and automatically accepted. It may well be that just research on the family will help us to a more powerful and orderly view of sociology as a whole field.

The general cultural view of the family as a form, traditionally determined at any one time and varying over time and space, is already widely accepted. With it we have been enabled to see the relativity of our own family practices and to exorcise the devils of instinct theory from our social psychology of the family. We should stress, however, that this relativity of our family form is true only when accepted over historical time and for wide geographical distribution; any family that we meet in our daily research is a highly durable example of a resistant and perduring tradition in our own society.

The central position of the family among institutions in our own culture can hardly be overstressed. Very obviously in a gross sense it transmits essential portions of our common tradition from one generation to another; though in a more refined sense it is not at all so obvious just how the transmission takes place, or, otherwise expressed, how a new individual is assimilated into group life. This problem awaits definitive statement by future research and is one of the most urgent in all the field of family research. It can be approached by studying the family group before, during, and after

assimilation of a new individual, and by study of the individual as a resultant of family influences. We will probably discover at this point that we will be nearing the shifting borders of the field of psychology and that we shall have to acquire a statement of the psychological aspect of man which is consonant with our wider social theory. Burgess<sup>1</sup> has already stressed the view of the family as a "unity of interacting personalities"; I invariably add a phrase to this definition for the sake of clarity, which is "each with a history," infants, of course, excepted. Only as sociologists can we adequately test the view that the family is the matrix of personality formation because only we count fully with the fact that any given family in which an individual grows up is a unit in a family series disappearing backward in time. Failure to stress this point in sociological language has made many valuable views expressed by Freud<sup>2</sup> inaccessible to sociological thinkers. Clinical studies of individuals stress the rôle of the family but they do not do justice to the fact that each of the environing parents also has a history of development in a family situation; if this point is clearly made, one finds little contradiction between Freud's work and the sociological theory of the family, except the seeming one that he has gone far ahead of us on many points.

The view of the family as an institution impinged upon by changes in productive technology in our society needs only to be mentioned. Influences erupting from this sphere are constantly changing traditional functions of the family and setting the conditions under which new family patterns emerge. Particularly ingenious is the elaboration of this point of view by

Ogburn<sup>3</sup> and his students. The family is seen as a kind of peeled onion, one after another of its older functions being surrendered to other of our institutions. The aroma of the onion persists, however, in the attitude structure of the family, carried by individuals, and probably much less readily modified than the economic aspects of family life. Nor should all family functions which can be defined at all be regarded as of equal importance; a correct system of weights might show that the affectional function, for instance, which is said to have changed least, really carried the load of integrating the family all along.

The view of our family as *patriarchal* in form must constantly be held in mind, as Goodsell<sup>4</sup> has shown. All social changes affecting the family are more significantly seen when this fact is kept in mind. The fact that a larger proportion of married women were working outside the home in 1930 than in 1920<sup>5</sup> may be a matter of little significance for research unless we understand that this fact implies a change in the rôle of the patriarchal family head in such families and a lessening in the control of women by men in our society. This is a fact of great importance because it may lead to increasing insecurity on the part of the dispossessed family head, lesser or greater tension on the part of women faced with a new responsibility for their own behavior, changes in the attitudes of mothers toward the children they bear and rear, etc. But the idea of change implies not merely the definition of the change but from what to what, and the statement of the ricochet of effects through the conduct of persons concerned.

<sup>3</sup> William F. Ogburn, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, pp. 661-708.

<sup>4</sup> Willystine Goodsell, *The Family as a Social and Educational Institution*. The Macmillan Company, 1915, pp. 48-150.

<sup>5</sup> William F. Ogburn, *op. cit.*, p. 666.

<sup>1</sup> Ernest W. Burgess, "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," *The Family*, p. 7-8 (1928).

<sup>2</sup> Sigmund Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. Boni and Liveright, New York, 1920.



The point must be made that there is a continuous transfer of the affects developed in family interaction to other social institutions, a fact which gives unity to our social life. In the field of religion many examples can be found where symbols are used that are evidently intended to conform to the configuration familiar to us out of our childhood experience in the family. Granting our patriarchal family type it can be no accident that the dominant figure in our Pantheon is a man and a father, that a mother is also present though in an inferior rôle and that a persecuted son completes the group. Be it noted that the "mother" in this configuration is not autonomous; she does not grant the prayers of her "children" directly but only through her merciful intercession with the actual holder of power. This theme could be elaborated but the effort here is only to point a finger at the fact. In the current political sphere we find a constant use of symbolic references to the family configuration. Cartoonists show our President before the election as a suitor courting "the people," the latter in feminine guise. Will Rogers commented after the recent election that it was evidently a love match between the President and the people. The assertion of patriarchal authority by the heads of various European fascist states would scarcely be conceivable in a society with a matriarchal family system. Efforts to symbolize social equality make constant reference to brotherhood, plainly representing the social "brothers" as having the equality of siblings in the family. It is true that symbols are constantly borrowed from one sphere to another, as when church members are represented as an army, but it is also true that those borrowed from the family are extraordinarily numerous and potent. This may be accounted for by the fact that children grow up in a family and not in an army

and that they come by the knowledge of family figures first.

The family can be viewed as a set of psychic adjustments existing now but developed in response to past conditions, material and social. In this sense it is a very pervasive structure and one very slow to change, with a long "lag" between determining conditions and revision of the dynamic balance of attitudes. Adults in our cities may, for example, seem quite free from the formal social controls which would inhibit aberrant behavior and yet follow quite rigorously the *mores* as transmitted to them in childhood. We must, however, be more definite on this point. It is not enough to know or to say that basic "attitudes" are developed in family life; we must say what attitudes and how configured and relate this in turn to the form of the family we have. Here we face an acute methodological need of family research; we need a penetrating technique for the study of individuals which will enable us to understand them as results of family interaction. Very likely the development of our life history methods is the indicated one. Very valuable also would be a continuous history of the infamily life of individuals and of a clustre of individuals in the same family. Kempf,<sup>6</sup> Levy,<sup>7</sup> and Oberndorf<sup>8</sup> all have made relevant contributions on this point. The problem of appropriate records and a concept system to master such materials is still to be solved. It may well be that informal emotional patterns no less than formal patterns, such as language, are transmitted in family life and that we will yet see the day when we can identify

<sup>6</sup> Edward J. Kempf, *Psychopathology*. C. V. Mosley Company, St. Louis, 1920, pp. 76-178.

<sup>7</sup> David M. Levy, "Maternal Over-Protection and Rejection," *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 73, 1931, pp. 65-70.

<sup>8</sup> C. P. Oberndorf, "Psychoanalysis of Siblings," *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, VIII (1928-29), pp. 1007-1020.

certain families as exhibits of neurosis-producing strains in our cultural stream and certain other families as continuously generating mature individuals of high social value. At this point I think we will find that our concept of "social attitude" is too pallid to deal with the data presented to us and we will come to regard it as a kind of catch-all term which was serviceable only in the infancy of our discipline; we shall have to recognize that the student of the family must count not only with the formal family institution but also with the organic material presented to the culture for elaboration, in short, must develop a useful theory of the emotional or dynamic side of social interaction.

Cross-cultural comparisons have yet another use when our methods of making them can be refined. It is hardly possible to define a personality type as resulting typically from our form of family because we do not have comparable types from other cultures for comparison. For all we know at the present time, however, we may be producing a personality form quite typical for our type of family but the fact is concealed from us for the lack of perspective provided by other cultures, as well as by our own inability, till now, to deal with the problem of personality. The question of the desirability of a particular personality type or family form cannot be successfully debated until we see the results in personality of different types of family interaction. For such results we must look to the ethnologists, especially those following the constructive leads given by Margaret Mead.<sup>9</sup> Ethnological studies of the kind required for our ends must shift attention from the study of culture as abstract form and pattern back to the living individual and see the

culture as a mold through which the organic tensional life is poured out. Edward Sapir<sup>10</sup> has recently put this point admirably in stressing the need for long-sectional studies as a part of the proper work of the ethnologist. The need of an emotionally intelligent and realistic social psychology is as great here as in sociology itself.

An unproven point but one of greatest interest is the possibility that in the simplest life experience of the individual (in-family experience) are developed affective sets which can be elaborated later into many different kinds of culture patterns. Supporting this point of view is the consideration that the body form and fundamental emotional material offered to different cultures seems the same and that the simplest early impacts of different cultures on the growing organism are bound to be similar, at least in crude outline. Examples of this point would be the culture-wide control of expressions of violence within the group or the existence everywhere of some type of regulation of the sexual impulse.<sup>11</sup> Many affective sets engendered by experience in the primary family group never come to expression but remain as potentialities which could but do not now energize cultural forms. I suggest with hesitation that the affective set for democratic practices existed for centuries in Western Europe before the formal pattern of democracy emerged; this "affective set" was developed in family life through the equality, often only theoretical equality, of siblings before the parents. The doctrine of equality of siblings doubtless is a device for diminishing rivalry between them and

<sup>10</sup> Edward Sapir, "The Emergence of the Concept of Personality in a Study of Cultures," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 1934, 5, p. 415.

<sup>11</sup> Charles William Margold, *Sex Freedom and Social Control*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1926.

<sup>9</sup> Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*. William Morrow and Company, New York, 1928, pp. 1-74.

thus minimizing conflict within the family group. I could offer many qualifications on this point but will rather set it forth without reservation as a possible useful idea pattern. It may well be, too, that in our own day we are generating in the family expectations on the part of individuals which cannot be met by our existing institutions; the ex-children who become adults in our society may look in vain for confessionals to absolve them of guilt or for a solid social organization which will direct behavior and function with parental benevolence. Certainly we have also the emotional tentatives for the development of a classificatory kinship system but we have only a feeble tradition in this respect; as an example, you may or may not instruct your children to salute a male friend of yours as "Uncle So-and-So." The point is that the simplest human affective sets are probably culture-wide and that any existing culture selects certain ones for preferential elaboration. Future changes in the adaptive culture must grow by the elaboration of the affect sets provided by the experience of individuals in current family life. "A classless society," for instance, would be one where the affect set of sibling equality was perfectly carried out.

I wish to stress also the need of study of normal family life and to add a point of methodology. We can easily get material on normal family life but the difficulty begins when we wish to publish it. My own experience has been that any material which an individual allows to be published about himself is likely to be so biased by the need for disguise that it is scientifically inadequate for sociological study. It is not only the fact that the sexual life of the average individual is more colorful than theory would indicate; it is much more the fact that privacy about the whole range of action is one of the privileges of normality and that no

person can afford to trust himself as he really is to the possible harsh scrutiny of his rivals and enemies. Suspicion of life history methods and materials is quite justified on this point; they are biased, just by the fact that they can be published, granting our current customs. A commission needs to be appointed to examine into the problem of making intimate materials accessible for scientific study. If individuals could be assured that the facts of their lives would be known only by friendly or at least scientifically neutral persons, our intimate materials on family life would immediately become more abundant and realistic. Can sociologists not take the lead in considering and working out a plan?

In noting the momentum of the family form in our society we must not overlook the hostility that is current toward the family and actualized in the many proposals for change which are being put forward. Rising divorce rates, increased sexual freedom within the married state, trial marriage are not only results of technological change but also expressions of long-standing discontent with the family which are only now being expressed in favorable external circumstances. Part of the emotional horsepower which can be mobilized behind communist doctrine stems without doubt from hostility against the parents and the family and is transposed from these symbols to other features of our cultural order. It is important for us to determine what elements of this antagonism are a response to necessary frustrations imposed by our huge collective enterprise and what parts of it are responses to adventitious hangovers from older situations. With this information we might be able at least to formulate intelligent proposals for change in family structure and to add whatever element science may offer to the otherwise blind elaboration of our family life.

## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SOME MAJOR ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE NEGRO

JOHN P. MURCHISON

*Department of the Interior*

SINCE the major concern of this paper is not "whence" or "what," but "whither" the Negro economically, the general picture of the present economic status of the Negro has been surveyed under four main divisions: (1) the gainful Negro workers in the United States classified into socio-economic groups in 1930; (2) for purposes of comparison, Negro workers in the relief population classified into socio-economic groups as of May, 1934; (3) the more insistent economic problems confronting the Negro in the recovery program and; (4) that the solution of the Negro's economic plight is not to be found in any kind of tie-up with organized craft unionism in the United States.

Moreover, to show the point of view, perhaps I should add that I am not a member of that school of Negro economists who believe that the economic status of the Negro is contingent wholly upon the will of the controlling white majority. It is my philosophy rather that it is better to put our faith in an organized creative intelligence of the Negro race than to trust to the fortuitous interaction of events that may develop within the white majority. An efficient organization and a determined application

of Negro intelligence toward his own economic deliverance and security are needed. It is most difficult, however, to convince the Negro that he, himself, must accomplish his own deliverance and economic security. This difficulty may rightfully be ascribed in many instances to an insufficient mental development of the Negro which has resulted primarily from the prolonged battle for mere subsistence and an easy credulity on the Negro's part in the optimistic promises of his self-appointed leaders and in the agencies of control that have grown out of the existing order. Usually this ignorance leaves him unresponsive to the programs that are designed in his best interests.

In analyzing the present economic status of the Negro, the relief census for 1933 and estimates based by the Research, Statistical and Financial section of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration on this census have been used. The relief census rather than available estimates on incomes or expenditures has been chosen because the data of the relief census are more complete and more reliable than such estimates as may be deducted from available data on the incomes or expenditures of Negroes and because the relief percentages indicate more accurately than do the income or



expenditure estimates the degree of economic distress suffered by the various socio-economic classes of Negroes.

The data secured in the relief census were transcribed from the family case-record cards which were on file in the local relief offices throughout the country. These data had previously been filled out in connection with the investigations and social service activities of the local relief agencies. The actual transcription of the information from the case cards to the schedules was done in local relief offices followed by a preliminary check in the state offices.

Urban population was defined in the relief census as the population residing in cities and other incorporated places having 2,500 or more inhabitants. The remainder of the population was classified as rural. This definition accorded with that of the United States Census Bureau.

Of the 5,503,535 Negroes gainfully employed in the United States in 1930, 36.1 per cent were engaged in agriculture, and 63.9 per cent in industrial or other urban occupations. Of those employed in urban occupations, 18.6 per cent were employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 28.6 per cent in domestic and personal services, and 7.2 per cent in transportation and communication. Of all the Negroes gainfully occupied in 1930, 81 per cent were employees and 19 per cent were proprietors, managers, and professional persons; 15.9 per cent of the proprietor class were farmers.

Of all the Negroes gainfully occupied in 1930, 3.2 per cent were skilled workers and foremen, 9.4 per cent were semi-skilled workers and 66.9 per cent were unskilled laborers and servants; 20.2 per cent of these unskilled workers were farm laborers. Any policy and plan, therefore, that may result in the greatest good for the greatest number of Negroes must be con-

cerned primarily with semi-skilled and unskilled laborers and servants.

In October, 1933, there were approximately 13,600,000 persons or 3,450,000 cases<sup>1</sup> on relief, of which 81.3 per cent were white and 16.7 per cent were Negroes. Negroes on relief constituted about 17.8 per cent of the entire Negro population, while whites on relief constituted 9.5 per cent of the entire white population. Thus, the percentage of Negroes receiving relief was almost twice that of whites. Those on relief were highly concentrated in certain sections of the country; 96 per cent of the Negroes on relief in October, 1933, were found in 24 states, 17 of which were southern states. The range of percentages of Negroes on relief was from 4.3 per cent in Virginia to 38 per cent in Ohio, while the range of percentages of whites on relief was from 2.2 per cent in Virginia to 22.6 per cent in West Virginia. In only four states, Mississippi, Arkansas, Kentucky, and West Virginia, the percentages of whites on relief exceeded the percentages of Negroes on relief. In all cities with appreciable Negro population the percentages of Negroes on relief exceeded those of whites.

In October, 1934, there were approximately 18,000,000 persons, or 4,700,000 cases on relief. While an analysis of such data as have been collected subsequent to the 1933 census does not enable one to give a precise estimate of the number of Negroes now on relief, the Research, Statistics and Finance Section of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration estimated that there were 857,000 Negro cases on relief rolls in May, 1934. This estimate and other evidence available give very little reason to believe that the

<sup>1</sup> A case is considered a group of related or unrelated persons living together at one address, the head of which had been resident in the state for at least a year.

proportion of the relief load which is Negroid has shifted markedly since October, 1933.

A preliminary estimate<sup>2</sup> of the occupational distribution of gainful workers on urban relief rolls in 1934 indicates that, in May, 65.5 per cent of the Negroes on the relief rolls were unskilled workers, 18 per cent were semi-skilled, 8.3 per cent were skilled workers and foremen, 1.9 per cent were clerical workers, 0.7 per cent were proprietary workers and 0.8 per cent were professional workers. There were a total of 29,600 white-collar workers, embracing professional, proprietary, and clerical groups, who constituted 3.4 per cent of the total number of Negroes on the urban relief rolls. Of the gainful Negro workers in the United States in 1930, 19.5 per cent were classified as white-collar workers. Of the 561,600 unskilled Negro workers on relief in 1934, 386,000 or 45.1 per cent were of the servant classes. Of the gainful Negro workers in the United States in 1930, 25.1 per cent were classified as servant classes. Of the 154,200 semi-skilled Negro workers on relief in 1934, 97,900 or 11.4 per cent were of the manufacturing classes. Of the gainful Negro workers in the United States in 1930, 3.3 per cent were classified as semi-skilled workers in manufacturing. Of the Negroes on relief in 1934, 70,700, or 8.3 per cent, were skilled workers and foremen. Of the gainful Negro workers in the United States in 1930, 3.2 per cent were classified as skilled workers and foremen.

The above comparison shows that the white-collar classes among Negroes have either fared best of all classes during the depression or they have had the most

pride. The significant fact is that the semi-skilled manufacturing worker has fared worst of all classes. There are more than three times as many semi-skilled workers on relief as are proportionately warranted by the figures on gainful workers in 1930. Next in line are the skilled workers, of which class almost three times as many are on relief as are proportionately warranted. Next in line are the servant classes, of which almost twice as many are on relief as are proportionately warranted.

Moreover, the fact that the percentage of Negroes receiving relief was almost twice that of whites indicates that the Negro's economic status is much more precarious than that of the white population; and it may be safely said that on the whole their economic status has been, and still is, submarginal. Whether the economic status be judged by property holdings, by bank savings, by incomes or expenditures, or by relief rolls, the findings will converge upon the one conclusion that the Negro generally is on "the narrow ridge of economic survival." In the broad programs for economic security for the masses, moreover, the Negro in actuality still remains outside of the total picture. Economic security is contingent upon the distribution of purchasing power to the masses in order relatively to equate demand with supply; but there can never be a relative equilibrium of demand and supply until the Negro is permitted to produce and to enjoy the fruits of production in a much wider sense than he has ever before. While so large a part of our man power is exploited and wasted, there can be little hope of the acquisitive system being saved in America. The New Deal must not use the deck that has been stacked economically against the Negro.

A brief survey of the more insistent

<sup>2</sup> Based on the five per cent sample of the occupational characteristics survey schedules. This survey was taken in May, 1934, and was influenced by the seasonal shifts that existed in that month.

economic problems confronting the Negro in the recovery program, i.e., wage differentials for the Negro and the attitudes of trade unions toward the Negro, will make the picture more concrete. When the codes of fair competition were initiated there resulted considerable agitation, especially in the South, for lower minimum wages for the Negro. The justification for the racial differential was based on the allegation that (1) the Negro's standard of living was lower than that of the white workers; (2) the Negro was not as efficient as white workers; and (3) the Negro traditionally received lower wages than white workers and it is desirable not to break the crust of tradition.

It must be admitted that the Negro workers' standard generally is lower than that of white workers; but this admission calls forth again the old "egg and the hen" controversy—which is responsible for the other(?) From my point of view, however, very little digging into the problem is necessary to prove that the lower cost of living among Negroes is due to their lower incomes. Negroes live on less because they have less to spend; and, in our price-system society, even the development of appropriate folkways is impossible without adequate income.

As to the Negro's being less efficient, there is considerable doubt that this contention is generally true. Certainly under present conditions it is impossible to prove or disprove this contention. Until a "test-tube" experiment can be performed which will involve the same occupations and the same plant and working conditions, no precise comparisons can be made. Certainly, also, under present conditions where Negroes are selected for the most casual and most killing jobs and at the same time are offered much less inducement, comparison is odious.

As to breaking the crust of tradition, that in many instances is the purpose of the whole recovery program. The custom of paying Negroes lower wages is a social lag which must be corrected if the Negro market is to possess appropriate buyers, if goods and services are to be fairly exchanged, if supply and demand are ever to arrive at relative equilibrium, and if the "New Deal" is to accomplish its purpose. Certainly in the present program, the needs must not be colored too greatly by the ways of the past.

The application of the codes of fair competition has involved some displacement of Negroes, which fact has caused some Negro leaders to favor a racial wage differential. There was, however, due primarily to the depression, considerable displacement of Negroes before the application of the codes; and much of the recent displacement could not, even if it were expedient, have been prevented by a racial wage differential. Certainly a racial wage differential would be inexpedient, because it would label Negroes industrially inferior and perhaps make them the victims of a caste system in which it would become increasingly difficult for them to obtain the same pay for the same work. The loss of relatively a few jobs is better by far than this.

Labor union practice is the other problem that I am concerned with here. The Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Law gives wage earners the right to organize, to self-representation and other concerted actions for purposes of collective bargaining. Moreover, section seven of Title I of the NIRA and its recent substitute, the Wagner-Connery Law provide for the enforcement of the terms of collective bargaining upon all employers; and such important recognition has been given the unions by the present administration that a quasi-partnership between the aristocrats of labor and government has

developed. Yet, even with the Negro constituting approximately eleven per cent of the gainfully occupied, labor unions generally have consistently discriminated against Negro workers. Many of them<sup>3</sup> openly restrict their membership to white workers. Even in some cases where Negroes have been admitted to unions, they are discriminated against as to job opportunities. Consequently, Negro workers believe that labor unions generally oppose the economic interests of Negroes. Another effect of such labor union practice has been the discouragement and the prevention of the development of skilled Negro workers. If the present administration continues to recognize unions which engage in such practice, Negro workers will be excluded from all desirable jobs in most of those localities where labor unions exist. The present administration, consequently, should require labor unions to abolish their practice of racial discrimination by also recognizing officially organizations of Negroes or only those including Negroes.

Finally, conditions which forbid the solution of the Negro's economic plight by any kind of tie-up with organized craft unionism in the United States cannot be omitted. In the first place, operating on the basis of economic scarcity, craft unionism represents, and will continue to represent, an aristocracy of labor. It has little intention of organizing all labor in the United States, because in our acquisitive set-up various types of labor, like other commodities, are dear only when they are scarce. We find it opposed, consequently, to the government codification of labor standards—minimum wage and maximum hours. It contends that organized labor is hurt by the standards set, because standards set for the unorgan-

ized tend to become the normal standards for all. If craft unionism were interested in American labor as a whole, it would not be interested in removing standards that protect the unorganized, even if in only a small way, but in improving these standards in order that they may become unquestionably the normal standards for all. It would not want a "cultural wage" for organized labor only, but for all labor. Cutting wages below the figure where the producer can be a consumer of his own product is no less harmful to the unorganized producer than to the organized producer.

Moreover, craft unionism offers no solution for the general problems of unemployment. It contends that industry by economic planning can absorb the 11,000,000 unemployed. This it would do by shortening the working week<sup>4</sup> without cutting wages, which can be nothing other than a mere gesture in our profit seeking economy. This gesture makes it obvious that such strength as craft unionism seems still to possess is much more apparent than real. Numbering only about one-seventh of the number of those gainfully occupied, it is an organized minority posing as the champion of labor.

The Negro's economic pauperism is due primarily to the inequitable employment opportunities offered him. His economic problem is predominantly a labor problem. The solution of his problem, because the position of Negro labor is bound up with the fate of American labor generally, is contingent to a large degree upon a united and concerted attack. Such an attack, however, will not be engineered by white labor. The Negro, therefore, must accomplish his own deliverance. This,

<sup>3</sup> Some of these unions are affiliated with the A. F. of L.

<sup>4</sup> The idle can be absorbed only by making the capital goods industries active and not by shortening working week in order to absorb them into the consumer goods industries.



perhaps, can best be done through the organizing of Negro labor into the council-type union. This type consists of a council of representatives of local unions who plan concerted action for the industry as a whole. In some instances to break down the opposition of labor unions, the Negro even may find it profitable to organize company unions. Then, finally,

with the Federal Government's work-relief program in the offing, government unions, organized and operated on much the same principle as the Federation of Federal Government Employees might serve as the beginning of a labor movement in the United States that would include Negro labor on an equitable footing.

#### SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL GRANTS-IN-AID AND FELLOWSHIP

The following announcements come from the office of the Secretary for Fellowships and Grants-in-Aid:

*Grants-in-Aid.* The Social Science Research Council has announced the award of forty-nine grants-in-aid of research, totaling \$22,725, for 1935-1936. These grants-in-aid, designed to assist mature scholars in the completion of research projects already well under way, provide for study in economics, political science, sociology, cultural anthropology, social psychology, history, statistics, geography and related disciplines. Twenty-four of the projects will be carried out in the United States. The remaining twenty-five projects require work in England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Sweden, Central America, South America, Japan, China and Canada. Applications for grants-in-aid in support of research during the period between April 1, 1936 and April 1, 1937 must be filed before January 15, 1936. It is important that requests for application blanks include a brief statement of the candidate's research experience, the nature of the proposed project, and the approximate amount of aid required.

The Council has also announced the appointment of fourteen Post-Doctoral Research Training Fellows and twenty-six Pre-Doctoral Field Fellows with stipends totaling \$88,000.

Attention is called to the objectives and minimum requirements of the three series of research training fellowships which will be offered by the Council for work during the academic year 1936-1937:

*Post-Doctoral Research Training Fellowships:* The primary purpose of these fellowships is to broaden the research training and equipment of promising young social scientists, not to facilitate the completion of research projects or the continuation of investigations undertaken as doctoral dissertations. Programs of study submitted should provide either for training of an interdisciplinary nature, for advanced training within the applicants' fields of specialization, or for field work or other experiential training intended to supplement more formal academic preparation for research. These fellowships are open to men and women, citizens of the United States or Canada, who possess the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent in training and experience at the time of application or give assurance that the Ph.D. will be received before the following February 15, and who, ordinarily, are not over thirty-five years of age. The basic stipend for a period of twelve months is \$1800. for single Fellows and \$2500. for married Fellows. Supplementary allowances toward the support of dependents, as well as to defray the necessary traveling expenses of the Fellow (but not members of his family), vary according to individual requirements. Awards are usually for twelve months, but may be made for any period not exceeding two years. The closing date for the receipt of applications for 1936-1937 is December 1, 1935.

*Pre-Doctoral Field Fellowships:* The purpose of these awards is to supplement formal graduate study by opportunities for field work which will assure first-hand familiarity with the data of social science not available in the classroom or library. These fellowships are open to men and women, citizens of the United States or Canada, who are candidates for the Ph.D. degree, and who will have completed prior to the end of the academic year 1935-36 all courses and examinations for which they are eligible before completion of the thesis. The fellowships are not open

(Continued on page 128)

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### POLITICAL MACHINE STRATEGY AGAINST INVESTIGATIONS

V. O. KEY, JR.

*University of California at Los Angeles*

OCCASIONALLY the authority of a political machine is challenged by the threat of a thorough investigation into its management of public affairs. Individuals fostering such inquiries hope by the discovery and dissemination of damaging facts to arouse hostility toward the machine. Certain recurring defensive techniques are used by the machine to combat such attacks upon its authority. These methods resemble in many respects those employed to defeat a criminal prosecution but the objectives are broader. The machine in defending itself against inquisitorial activities attempts to control public opinion negatively, by repressing facts or symbols presumed to incite hostility and, positively, by utilizing the investigatory procedure as a medium for favorable propaganda. Criminal prosecutions come later and can be handled with greater ease in a favorable or neutral atmosphere. It is proposed to consider here the more or less standard techniques which have been developed to forestall investigations, suppress evidence, maintain the morale of the group under inquiry, and mitigate the effect of certain types of evidence.

#### CONTROLLING THE VANTAGE POINTS

Political machines operate upon the theory that control of the points from

which attack may come is the best defense. To this end it endeavors to control the centers from which investigations may originate. Although most of the agencies with inquisitorial powers ample to pry into machine activities are either regular or *ad hoc* governmental agencies, there are a few private agencies to be guarded against. One of the prime necessities of the corrupt political organization is the maintenance of control of prosecuting offices and other agencies with like powers of inquiry.

By his control over the investigatory processes and his influence with the grand jury, the state's attorney, or like officer, has the power both through criminal prosecution of individuals and inquiries leading to unfavorable publicity, to endanger the continuance of the machine in power. No effort is spared to control this office and at times machine governed jurisdictions have gone for decades without an independent state's attorney. It would be embarrassing for a prosecutor to conduct inquiries into the activities of the men who placed him in office. Moreover, he must usually look to these same men and their associates to aid him in gaining higher political preferment. By the vigorous prosecution of spectacular criminal cases an impression may be created that the prosecutor is unusually efficient when he is actually condoning activities of his

political allies much more injurious to the public welfare. Or, a prosecutor who is incompetent and lacking in initiative may be elected. Now and then the machine errs and elects a man to this office who turns out to be an ambitious crusader,<sup>1</sup> but as a rule candidates for this office are selected with a sharp eye to their loyalty to the organization.

Other officials possess powers in some instances not unlike those of the state's attorney. Under certain conditions judges may appoint special prosecutors. The loyal organization judge is usually able to devise a technical justification of the denial of a petition for the appointment of a special prosecutor hostile to the organization.<sup>2</sup> The sheriff or some other official may select the grand jury. The organization makes a special effort to control such offices. The grand juries will be composed of a majority of persons amenable to pressure together with a few eminently respectable citizens for purposes of ornamentation.<sup>3</sup>

The most devastating investigations have been conducted by legislative committees acting under authority of Congress, state legislatures, and city councils. If the organization controls the state legislature or the council, it may successfully resist public demands for inquiries. If the public clamor becomes too great, it may be possible to appoint committees to conduct a superficial inquiry and "white-wash" the accused individuals. If the

state legislature is controlled by one party and the city machine by another, the prevention of a state inquiry into the city is difficult unless some bi-partisan arrangement is possible. In some instances independent agencies have inaugurated inquiries only to have the publicity split and the issues clouded by a parallel controlled investigation by another office.

Preventive techniques include the control of certain non-official agencies. Courageous newspaper editors can do the machine much injury. At times they uncover and publish material fully as damaging as that revealed by official agencies with all their legal powers. Small newspapers have been controlled by granting sinecures to their editors or proprietors. Official advertising, paid for at very high rates, was once probably more important in machine-press relationships than it now is.<sup>4</sup> Outright bribery may be the method of control of the press. Tweed paid to secure favorable publicity and to prevent other types. "Sometimes," he said, "they would bring us an article which was very strong against us, and containing some things we wouldn't very much care to have made public, and we would pay to have them stricken out, and they would be stricken out."<sup>5</sup> When California was a political fief of the Southern Pacific Railroad measures were taken to maintain friendly press relations.<sup>6</sup> More important than control of the press directly by the political machine is influence exerted by powerful groups whose

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of Folk in St. Louis. See Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography* (New York, 1931), 368 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For an instance in which a state's attorney opposed a petition for the appointment of a special prosecutor to investigate alleged frauds in his own election, see A. H. Yount, "Prosecution of Election Frauds in Cook County, Illinois," *National Municipal Review*, III (1914), 153-156.

<sup>3</sup> On the grand jury in Atlantic City under "Boss" Kuehnle, see "Law Breaking in Atlantic City," *National Municipal Review*, I (1912), 500-501.

<sup>4</sup> "Official advertising is the Pain-Killer of Politics. Give the people plenty of taffy and the newspapers plenty of advertising—then help yourself to anything that's lying around loose."—R. E. Shapley, *Solid for Mulhooly* (Philadelphia, 1889), 59.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by M. R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (New York, 1928), 175.

<sup>6</sup> See the instances cited by Fremont Older, *My Own Story* (San Francisco, 1919), 21-24.

interests are intertwined with those of the machine.

#### COUNTER-OFFENSIVE AND RETALIATION

After an investigatory body, either official or non-official, is constituted and begins its work, various types of counter-attack are often brought to bear directly against the persons conducting the inquiry in order to check or hinder their activities. Litigation may be instituted to obstruct the efforts of the investigatory body and to divert its energies from the task at hand to the defense of its legal position. Whether these proceedings succeed or not may be immaterial for the advantage of delay is great. Public indignation may cool during the interval and the difficulty of pushing the investigation to a successful conclusion becomes greater.

If the machine controls the appropriating and disbursing agencies which must act in connection with an official inquiry, it is in a position to restrict severely the activity of the investigators. The conduct of an effective investigation requires considerable sums for attorneys, process servers, stenographers, and other types of services. There may be a flat refusal to make an appropriation.<sup>7</sup> Or an inadequate sum may be furnished thereby satisfying some who want an inquiry and furnishing a relatively high degree of self-protection. When Judge Seabury was conducting his inquiry into the magistrates' courts of New York, the city authorities resisted payment of assistant counsel without whose services he could not proceed. This put him to the inconvenience of bringing an action in mandamus to compel payment.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> For example, see Yount, *op. cit.* The difficulty was surmounted in this instance by subscriptions from private sources.

<sup>8</sup> *In the Matter of the Investigation of the Magistrates' Courts in the First Judicial Department*, Final Report of Samuel Seabury, Referee (New York, 1932), 6-8.

Compelling pressures may be brought against the persons conducting an investigation to persuade them to relent. Threats of violence<sup>9</sup> or blackmail may be made.<sup>10</sup> The record of anyone who conducts an investigation of an allegedly corrupt situation will be minutely examined in quest of damaging facts. Individuals who rise to challenge the machine are subjected to a variety of pressures, embarrassments, and petty persecutions limited only by the ingenuity of the members of the machine. The individual "cannot fight the machine for long. He is forced out, or scared out, or bought out, or starved out, or tired out, or—in a host of cases—he is absorbed into the machine."<sup>11</sup> Social pressures may be brought to bear by acquaintances in clubs, on the streets, in churches. The absence of smiles, nods, words of recognition, may discourage more effectively than outright blackmail.<sup>12</sup>

Against crusading newspapers, techniques ranging from murder to the withdrawal of advertising have been employed. The case of the murder of Don Mellett, Canton, Ohio, editor, who attacked certain underworld interests, is an instance in point. Official powers may be used to control newspapers. Indictments for criminal libel, if the courts are machine controlled, may serve as a method of retaliation. The cases may be so manip-

<sup>9</sup> For reports of threats against members of a recent Los Angeles grand jury, see *Los Angeles Times*, November 19, 1934.

<sup>10</sup> Thus, the alleged effort to "get something on" Senator Wheeler and "smear him" while he was active in the work of a committee investigating the Department of Justice. See *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary*, U. S. Senate, 69th Cong., 1st sess., pursuant to S. Res. 171 Requesting Information from the Attorney General Relative to Expenditures in Investigations Touching Supposed Offenses of Senator Burton K. Wheeler.

<sup>11</sup> Donald Richberg, *Tents of the Mighty* (New York, 1930), 117-18.

<sup>12</sup> For a description of these social pressures, see Older, *op. cit.*, ch. xx.



ulated as almost to bankrupt the impecunious editor.<sup>13</sup> The threat of prosecution for criminal libel may serve for a time to keep some editors cowed into submission.<sup>14</sup> Civil libel actions are often brought against newspapers, sometimes for the purpose of restraining the vigor of their attacks. The effectiveness of this type of suit depends much upon the libel law of the particular state as well as upon the facts involved. Many suits of this type are gestures. A claim for a million dollars in damages serves as an answer to charges which can not be frankly met. After the turmoil has died away the proceedings may be quietly dismissed. Efforts may be made to bribe newspapers threatening to publish incriminating facts to refrain from doing so. The *New York Times* was offered a large sum not to publish the facts and figures which it had in its possession incriminating the Tweed "ring."<sup>15</sup> When the *Times* began publication of this material, the city authorities brought suit to contest the title of the land upon which its building stood.

A counter-propaganda campaign usually accompanies the specific pressures brought by these means. The propaganda is designed to discredit the motives of the inquisitors. The prosecutor is of the opposite party. He merely wants to use this as a stepping stone to his own political advancement. He has a personal grudge against some of the individuals

under investigation. The inquiry is a waste of money. Propaganda is circulated to justify the actions criticized and to picture the grafters as great public benefactors, or at least no worse than their "persecutors."

#### SUPPRESSION OF THE EVIDENCE

To be distinguished from the methods used against the investigators themselves are procedures employed in relationship to potential sources of evidence. Once an inquiry is in process every possible obstacle is placed in the way of a revealing investigation. Witnesses must flee, or be caused to flee, the jurisdiction, or at the minimum perjure themselves. Documentary evidence, if any exists, is destroyed or kept beyond the reach of the investigating authority. The morale of the investigatees is maintained. The ranks are kept intact, confessions prevented, good "alibis" invented.

Documentary evidence which is incriminating is destroyed if possible. Public records may be destroyed, mutilated or "misplaced," as well as private records which contain documentary evidence. A New York legislative committee found that the records of the Metropolitan Turf Association, which it wanted to examine in connection with alleged legislative malpractices, had been destroyed with the exception of a single check book.<sup>16</sup> The surviving records of the Street Railway Association were meager and fragmentary and the "disappearance of the great bulk of them extraordinary and inexplicable."<sup>17</sup> Of the records of a brokerage firm through which legislators were alleged to have

<sup>13</sup> See the testimony of Carl C. Magee on his experiences in New Mexico, *Hearings before the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys*, U. S. Senate, on S. Res. 282, S. Res. 294, and S. Res. 434, Senate Resolutions Providing for an Investigation on the Subject of Leases Upon Naval Oil Reserves, pp. 891-893 (1923-24).

<sup>14</sup> See "Law Breaking in Atlantic City," *National Municipal Review*, I (1912), 500-502.

<sup>15</sup> Werner, *op. cit.*, 210-214. Cf. Shapley, *op. cit.*, p. 60: "A chunk of meat will cure the bark and the bite of a dog; therefore if you don't know how to silence a reformer, it's your own fault."

<sup>16</sup> Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York Appointed to Investigate Corrupt Practices in Connection with Legislation, and the Affairs of Insurance Companies Other than those Doing Life Insurance Business, p. 18 (Assembly Doc. No. 30, 1911).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

been paid, there were missing "some 40,000 cancelled checks of the firm, ten letter books, two stub checkbooks and two blotters, and a deposit book" which contained matters of the utmost importance to the committee.<sup>18</sup> The destruction of documentary evidence is such a common practice that it is unnecessary to pile up specific instances of this type of defense.

The inauguration of an investigation is usually the signal for a general exodus of potential witnesses to points beyond convenient reach of the process server. Some leave of their own accord; others have their traveling expenses paid by interested parties. The underlying idea is that a temporary absence will allow the storm to blow over or bring an *ad hoc* investigatory agency to the end of its legal life. When Hughes was guiding the investigation by the Armstrong committee of the New York legislature into the affairs of life insurance companies, a number of the most important witnesses found the time opportune to make long journeys.<sup>19</sup> In Pennsylvania the architect and contractor for the capitol, "the palace of graft," were afforded every opportunity "to be present and state their story," but they successfully evaded service of subpoenas.<sup>20</sup> In Seabury's investigation into the magistrates' courts an ex-stool pigeon confessed that two former vice squad officers had paid him to leave the city and give no more testimony.<sup>21</sup> The travels of Russell T. Sherwood, former Mayor Walker's financial agent, is

another instance of successful evasion of process servers by an important witness.<sup>22</sup>

Witnesses and informers have been killed to get them out of the way. The outstanding instance of this was the assassination of Herman Rosenthal in New York in 1912. Rosenthal, a gambler who believed that he had not been given a fair deal by the gambling squad, indiscreetly announced that he would tell the district attorney all about police-protected gambling. His determination was duly heralded in the press and he was shot almost before the ink was dry. A police lieutenant was executed for instigating the murder by certain underworld characters.<sup>23</sup> Judge Seabury encountered difficulty in one phase of his work because of the unexplained death of the chief engineer of the Dock Department. He had been examined at considerable length in private and was scheduled to appear for further examination. "On his way to the office of the Investigation he either fell or was pushed in front of a subway train and was killed instantly."<sup>24</sup>

Witnesses may be intimidated. They will be afraid to testify or will tell so little that their evidence will be of scant value. In the federal grand jury investigation of Al Capone's income the cashier of a small Cicero, Illinois, bank was brought before the jury to testify with respect to certain accounts in his bank which were thought to belong to Capone. The cashier plead ignorance of the identity

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly Appointed to Investigate the Affairs of Life Insurance Companies*, p. 13 (Assembly Doc. No. 41, 1906).

<sup>20</sup> Capitol Investigation Commission, *Report in Journal of Pennsylvania House of Representatives*, 1909, Pt. I, p. 225.

<sup>21</sup> Samuel Seabury, *Final Report*, Investigation of Magistrates' Courts, pp. 84-85.

<sup>22</sup> Seabury, *Second Intermediate Report*, Investigation of the Departments of Government of the City of New York, p. 99. Sherwood chose to remain away even at the expense of being adjudged in contempt and fined \$50,000.

<sup>23</sup> Curran Committee, Report, p. 902 (in *Proceedings*, Board of Aldermen, City of New York, April 1 to June 17, 1913).

<sup>24</sup> Seabury, *Intermediate Report*, Investigation of the Departments of Government of the City of New York, p. 165.

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of the owner of the accounts carried in fictitious names. His counsel told the district attorney that every night when the cashier went home "some gangster was there and threatened him."<sup>25</sup> A New York federal district attorney quoted a speakeasy proprietor from whom he was trying to secure information as to where protection money was paid:

If I testified on the stand and gave you their names so you could get them before the grand jury, my life would not be worth 50 cents for 24 hours. Much easier for me to go to jail for six months, or for as long as you impose, on a plea of guilty, and then get out, than to assist you in this investigation and find myself bumped off.<sup>26</sup>

Various governmental powers may be employed to intimidate potential witnesses or to punish individuals who have already testified. The Lexow Committee observed that people "of all degrees" were afraid to speak against the police, believing that "their business would be ruined, they would be hounded from the city and their lives, even, jeopardized."<sup>27</sup> In Chicago a saloon-keeper turned state's evidence and exposed the workings of a system of vice graft. The mayor revoked his license.<sup>28</sup> In New York the police commissioner dismissed from the force a lieutenant who testified that many men appointed by the commissioner were of bad character. The officer had been assigned to the investigation of applicants

for positions in the department.<sup>29</sup> The fear of dismissal is probably the strongest deterrent preventing the testimony of subordinate administrative personnel against their superiors. The criminal law has at times been used to punish witnesses. The monotonous frequency with which indictments, both genuine and framed, of witnesses have followed upon the heels of their testimony gives some basis for the suspicion that the two events are often not entirely unrelated.

#### MAINTENANCE OF MORALE

During the course of an investigatory siege the leader of a machine must maintain morale and confidence within his own camp. The individuals implicated in a graft situation, of course, have little inclination to reveal its workings themselves, but the weaker ones must be protected from pressure and persuasion which may lead them to reveal the facts.<sup>30</sup> Mutual confidence must be maintained among the conspirators. If there is any appreciable lack of faith in the minds of those involved with respect to one of their number, there may be an informal race to see which one can turn state's evidence first in return for immunity. The investigators must be put in a position where they have to find their own facts. In some instances grafters confronted with shreds of evidence pieced into a complete picture by shrewd guesses have confessed and described the whole affair. Such a situation is guarded against.

The state of siege is the time to right wrongs and heal old sores. Many investigations succeed only because witnesses can be found who think they have been treated unfairly by their erstwhile friends

<sup>25</sup> Curran Committee, *Report*, pp. 904-905.

<sup>30</sup> "The man who gives a bribe can't tell, and the fellows who divide it won't; so the law protects the boys all the time." Shapley, *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> Testimony of G. E. Q. Johnson, *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary*, U. S. Senate, 72d Cong., 1st sess., on the nomination of James H. Wilkerson to be U. S. Circuit Judge, p. 232 (1932).

<sup>26</sup> Testimony of E. R. Buckner, *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary*, U. S. Senate, 69th Cong., 1st sess., on bills to amend the national prohibition act, p. 197 (1926).

<sup>27</sup> *Report of a Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Police Department of the City of New York*, p. 25 (1895).

<sup>28</sup> John Landesco, "Organized Crime in Chicago," *Illinois Crime Survey*, p. 854.

and associates. The inquiry which disclosed the sordid conditions in the New York magistrates' courts was greatly aided by the testimony of Chile Acuna, a former vice squad "stool pigeon" who had been "double-crossed" and imprisoned for a year.<sup>31</sup> Although testimony given with motives of revenge may be discounted, every intelligent investigator looks for men anxious to even an old score. Such persons are sought out and amends made, if possible, or the necessary steps taken to prevent their talking.

Measures are taken to mitigate the pressures brought by investigators to compel individuals to testify. Thus Judge Seabury succeeded in having Dr. Doyle, the mysterious Tammany veterinarian, imprisoned for contempt after he had suffered a lapse of memory. John F. Curry, then Tammany leader, busied himself in securing Doyle's release at a judicial hearing held at Lake Placid "under circumstances which precluded the attendance of Counsel" to the investigating committee. "The truth of the matter," Seabury declared, "was that the political organization with which Doyle had had his relations was taking up the cudgels when an exposure of those relations was threatened and particularly when there was danger that continued incarceration might weaken Doyle's resistance to disclosure."<sup>32</sup> Sometimes investigators secure indictments of hesitant witnesses on matters unrelated to the inquiry and use the indictments as leverage to compel testimony with reference to the subject of the investigation. Counsel is furnished to such individuals and every possible effort made to bolster their courage. When such moves are so far

advanced that nothing can be done, minor figures may be persuaded to keep their lips sealed and assume responsibility for the entire group. The frequency with which inquiries into abuses are followed by the indictment and conviction of petty subordinates can hardly lead to any conclusion other than that they have been "framed" or are taking punishment for somebody "higher up" in gratitude for past or future favors. Presumably when an individual is "thrown to the wolves" public clamor is somewhat quieted and the demands for further inquiry may diminish.

Apart from these specific pressures and inducements the cohesive effect of group opinion is always a strong restraining influence upon persons involved in a graft situation. The fear of alienating friends, of the censuring glances of once-intimates, helps to maintain the lines of defense.<sup>33</sup>

#### DEFENSE TESTIMONY

During the course of open hearings before an investigatory agency, high public officials and party leaders can not very well refuse on the basis of some asserted legal right to appear and justify their stewardship. They may be compelled to give evidence if they are specifically granted immunity from prosecution with reference to the matters upon which they testify,<sup>34</sup> but whether they may be compelled legally or not they must as a practical matter appear. Not to do so would create the popular impression that they were guilty and afraid.<sup>35</sup> Witnesses can be compelled to testify but they can not be compelled to tell the truth. In

<sup>33</sup> For example, see Steffens, *The Struggle for Self-Government*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>34</sup> See the opinion by Cardozo *In the Matter of Doyle*, 257 N. Y. 244 (1931), on the rights of witnesses before legislative committees.

<sup>35</sup> The investigator may shift the burden by refusing to hear witnesses who will not waive the immunity which they would secure by testifying.

<sup>31</sup> Raymond Moley, *Tribunes of the People* (New Haven, 1932), pp. 119-120.

<sup>32</sup> *Intermediate Report*, Investigation of the Departments of Government of the City of New York, p. 25.

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order to place the activities of the investigatees in the best possible light, various methods are employed. The ability to stand up under oral examination and ingenuity in parrying questions depends both upon the personal skill of the witness and his interrogator. The skillful witness by avoiding the use of "unfortunate" words and phrases may tell the truth almost, yet not appear in a bad light. But in practically every investigation perjury is practiced on a rather large scale, at least if both sides have the right to summon witnesses. Perusal of the hearings of a few investigatory bodies can lead to no other conclusion. It may not be perjury punishable in a court of law, but much of the testimony is patently false.

It would hardly be worth the effort to classify the wide variety of "explanations," "alibis," and half-truths which have been offered to inquisitorial agencies, but there are a few forms of recent vintage which are of some interest. They may be transparent falsehoods, but they do have the virtue of concealing the essential fact for which the investigator is probing. A most amazing series of accounts was given to Judge Seabury in his inquiry into the sources of the large bank accounts of New York political leaders and public officials. The most remarkable of the lot was that of Sheriff Thomas M. Farley. In explaining a matter of \$270,000 he related the tale of a tin box, "a wonderful tin box," from which he took the cash from time to time and deposited it in the bank.<sup>36</sup> Other witnesses explained their

incomes as loans, winnings on the races, or as inheritances.

Very frequently in investigations witnesses insert into their explanatory narratives actions or remarks of men who are dead. As it is impossible to secure corroborative evidence, stories of this type may not be verified or disproved. A vice squad officer told Seabury that of the particular \$50,000 in question he had won \$10,000 by gambling and that \$40,000 was given to him by his "Uncle George" in one thousand dollar bills as they were going to Coney Island one day. "Poor fellow, he had died, leaving no relatives or friends, and, incidentally, no one through whom" the extraordinary story could be checked.<sup>37</sup> Another vice squad officer explained that the deposits in his name in question were made as a favor for a man with the money who "expected some trouble." "Unfortunately Brady chose to tell this strange story about a man who was dead. And inasmuch as no one but he and the dead man were supposed to have known of the transaction, Brady's explanation of these accounts, fantastic as it seemed, remained unassailable."<sup>38</sup>

Means are devised to enable the persons under investigation to get their side of the story into the record. Legislative committees often operate on the theory that the procedure is not a trial and hence the investigatees have no right to be represented by counsel. The committee counsel then can guide the direction of the inquiry by insisting that the replies be responsive to his questions. The skillful witness may be able even under these circumstances to work his interpretation into the record. At the beginning of an

Thus, Seabury in his New York inquiry offered all his witnesses an immunity waiver. They could hardly refuse to sign. A few did refuse, however.

<sup>36</sup> *Intermediate Report*, p. 66. See also, the amusing story by McQuade of his "borrowings" to clothe and shelter the other thirty-four McQuades, *ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>37</sup> *Final Report, Investigation of Magistrates' Courts*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99. For an earlier instance of the "dead man alibi," see *State v. Dunn*, 102 N. W. 935 (1905).

inquiry the persons under investigation usually appear with lawyers who make noble speeches about the constitutional right to be represented by counsel, the Magna Carta, star chamber procedure, King George III, the revolutionary forefathers, and other related matters. If this does not bring success in the form of permission of the committee for counsel to call witnesses and conduct cross-examination, there is often an obliging member of the minority of the committee who will perform this service.

The minority of the committee can do much to hinder the movement of an investigation. They may ask questions designed to bring out extenuating circum-

stances. They may subject persons giving damaging evidence to pitiless badgering and abuse. As Seabury said in connection with his inquiry, "when witnesses reluctantly consented to tell the truth, they were insulted and assailed and subjected to the vituperation and abuse" of a member of the minority.<sup>39</sup> The minority members can help in some instances by reporting to the investigatees what the plans of the committee are and thereby allow the preparation of a defense. Seabury avoided this by keeping the minority as ignorant of his plans as the persons under investigation were.

<sup>39</sup> *Final Report*, Investigation of the Departments of Government of the City of New York, p. 102.

#### SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL GRANTS-IN-AID AND FELLOWSHIP

(Continued from p. 119)

to persons who will be over the age of 27 on July 1, 1936, or who plan to receive the Ph.D. before the expiration of the period of appointment for which application is made. The basic stipend attached to these fellowships is \$1500. for a period of twelve months, with the possibility of additional allowances for travel and other exceptional expenses when necessary. Appointments will be for not less than nine nor more than twelve months. The closing date for the receipt of applications for 1936-1937 is December 1, 1935.

*Pre-Doctoral Fellowships for Graduate Study:* The awards at this level are designed to aid exceptionally promising students of the social sciences to obtain research training beginning with the first year of graduate study. They are open to men and women, citizens of the United States or Canada, who have received the bachelor's degree or will obtain it prior to July 1, 1936. They are not open to persons who will be over the age of twenty-five on July 1, 1936, or to persons who have been in residence as graduate students at any institution for more than one semester or its equivalent before the same date. Appointments will be for the academic year 1936-1937. Requests for renewals for a second year will be considered on the basis of performance during the first period of appointment. The stipend is \$1000. plus tuition and an allowance for one round trip between the Fellow's home and his place of study. The closing date for the receipt of applications is March 15, 1936.

Further information and application blanks for fellowships and grants-in-aid may be secured from the Secretary for Fellowships and Grants-in-Aid, 230 Park Avenue, New York City.



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## SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE PROSPECTS OF RURAL INDUSTRY IN CHINA

HARRY B. PRICE

*Yenching University*

ACCORDING to the more recent estimates, China's population, despite the loss of Manchuria, is well over 400 million. About four-fifths of this number secure their living directly or indirectly from the land. China is, predominantly, a vast nation of small farmers. Her rural population is the largest homogeneous group in the world.

To any one of China's peasants, the condition of an American farmer would be incomprehensible. To own 150 acres of land, to enrich the soil with chemical fertilizer and plough with a tractor, to harvest with a reaper and binder and store forage in a silo, to own a motor car and a radio, to have paved roads to the nearest towns and to sell one's crop in distant markets, to receive government bulletins on agriculture and even to send one's children to a consolidated school—this all is beyond imagination. About the only topics on which the farmers of the two nations would find common ground are weather, price fluctuations, and mortgages!

To an American agriculturalist, on the other hand, the conditions under which the typical Chinese farmer earns his livelihood might seem utterly unbelievable. For, to start with, his family of five must derive the best part of their year's income

from only two or three acres of land. On the north China plain it might be four or five acres of hard soil, but among the rice fields of Chekiang or Kwangtung it may be as little as an acre. From this income he must pay taxes to the local government and sometimes an additional assessment for "protection" to a local militarist or bandit leader. If he wishes to borrow money, as frequently he must, he is charged 30, 60, or in some cases even 100 per cent interest. He knows nothing of scientific agriculture and his most complicated machine is a foot-worked water wheel for irrigation. His isolation is difficult even to imagine, for his village is connected with its neighbor only by footpaths or, perhaps, by cart tracks on the earth; transport by man or beast is at three or four miles an hour. His only buyers are to be found in the nearest market town, five or ten miles away, to which he treks with part of his produce and accepts whatever prices are offered by the local merchants. His net income, including an estimate for the portion of his crop which his own family consumes, is, in terms of American currency today, from \$30 to \$50 a year.

Evident within these facts is the terrific pressure exerted by population against the available means of subsistence in China.

So near are Chinese peasants to the margin of existence that any misfortune may spell disaster to a whole sector of the population. The terrible toll taken somewhere almost annually by a flood or a drought is, in one sense, but a symptom of the underlying condition of the peasantry. The same may be said of communism and banditry which represent not so much the penetration of Marxism into rural China as a struggle of the will to live against almost impossible odds. The flow of rural population to the cities, there to work as coolie labor, is a third symptom; infanticide, a fourth. The fact that so many of the people do survive is in itself a tribute to their ingenuity and fortitude.

Nor do they only survive. On close acquaintance, the Chinese peasant shows himself to be a very human sort of person. Once his initial suspicion of the stranger is overcome, he is genial and responsive. During his long periods of enforced leisure—a man cannot work forever on three acres of land—he has developed through the centuries a body of deep-rooted traditions and colorful folkways. He is no Bushman but a citizen of an ancient civilization. And this is despite the incredible hardness of his lot and the frequent precariousness of his very existence.

The economic condition of peasant families in the hundreds of thousands of villages which dot the arable plains of China constitutes the most fundamental aspect of the nation's rural problem and lends significance to a rising tide of interest in "rural reconstruction." In the name of rural reconstruction have come forward many suggestions. "Dike." "Irrigate." "Plant trees." "Build roads." "Improve farming methods." "Furnish credit facilities." "Redistribute the land." "Improve marketing organization." "Reform local govern-

ment and reduce taxation." "Promote rural industry." "Introduce birth control." "Extend mass education." Every one of these suggestions, on a minute scale to be sure, has reached a stage of active experimentation.

One of these possible avenues to rural betterment which is being subjected to animated discussion at the present time is the promotion of rural industry. The aim of this article is to consider the prospects of this line of reconstruction in the light of China's total rural problem.

#### A LABYRINTH OF EXISTING INDUSTRIES

In the first place, there already exists a labyrinth of minute industries among the market towns and villages of the nation. Walk down the narrow main street of almost any market town and you will see, in close succession, each working and selling in his open shop—a shoemaker sewing cloth soles, two barebacked sawyers changing a log into boards, a rope-maker twisting fibres of hemp, a baker dexterously kneading dough. Walk a little farther and you will hear behind closed doors the endless clack-a-lack of a handloom.

Ignore for the moment some two or three thousand modern manufacturing concerns and what you have left throughout the cities and country districts of China is just such industry—hand-worked, minute, localized. Weaving, straw plaiting, vermicelli making, wine distilling, tea preparing, mat weaving, paper manufacture, pottery making, brick and tile baking, the rolling and pasting of fire-crackers, and even the manufacture of art objects of singular beauty are industries that have been carried on with little change for hundreds of years. Others of more recent origin—hosiery knitting, lace making, glass manufacture—are still largely handicraft in nature. These arts and

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crafts vary greatly according to tradition and locality. They do not achieve in rural areas the wide variety or the degree of specialization found in a great and ancient city like Peiping. Even so, no one knows how many hundreds of such industries are now carried on in rural China. Most of them, however, are specialized trades rather than by-industries dovetailing with agriculture.

Parallels in the West are to be found not so much in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as in the fourteenth to the eighteenth. Barring developments in a handful of industrial cities, Chinese industry today belongs essentially to a pre-capitalist or early capitalist era. It is in a stage of transition from handicraft to domestic organization, or from independent craftsman control to the merchant-employer system.

#### MODERNIZATION INEVITABLE

That this should be true, that China should for so long have successfully resisted the march of industrial change that has revolutionized the West is an endless wonder to visitors from abroad. A few hours' journey from any port city and they reach a civilization that is essentially medieval.

Of course this cannot continue indefinitely. The growth of modern industry, gradual at first and still restricted to limited areas, has been accelerating since the beginning of the World War. As Professor Tawney has remarked in his excellent study of China's economy, arguments for and against industrialization are now twenty years out of date. The thing already exists and its growth is inevitable. If it did not develop from within, it would be forced from without. "The question is not whether it shall develop, which it obviously will, but what methods it shall use and what

results it shall produce." Civil disturbance, lack of communications, and institutional and psychological obstacles will not continue always to withstand the competitive advantages of modern industry.

Yet they have so far held machine and power production to restricted areas so that even today they furnish employment to less than one per cent of the population. The real story of industrial change in China is yet to be written. The advance of modern productive technic meets in China social conditions and a population pressure very different from those faced in Europe and America. The lines along which China's economy will gradually be modernized are not yet clear. This being true, a well-conceived policy, if vigorously pursued, may be able to exert an influence upon the outcome.

#### THE CASE FOR RURAL INDUSTRY

One such policy which has able proponents at the present time is the encouragement of rural industries—the maintenance and the improvement, along scientific lines, of existing production wherever this is feasible and, where there is some promise of success, the establishment of new local enterprises. The exponents of this approach to rural reconstruction support their position with a cogent line of reason. There is not such a resistance to industrialism as is symbolized in the spinning wheel of Mahatma Gandhi, but rather a vigorous program for the modernization of small-scale industries. Their views have been ably stated by the acknowledged pioneer in this field, Professor J. B. Tayler, formerly of Yenching University, now the moving spirit of the North China Industrial Service Union. The summary which follows has been gleaned mainly from his writings and, to a less extent, from those of Professor R. H.

Tawney who supports the general position taken by Professor Tayler. For convenience, I shall put into a list what appear to be the principal articles of their faith.

1. Mass production, while advantageous in some branches of industry, is not desirable in all. The blunder of that assumption was made in many parts of Europe and is now, in some of them, being partially corrected by the reintroduction of small-scale production. This process is facilitated in Europe by the increasing use of electricity as a source of power.

2. It is wise, moreover, to build upon existing foundations by aiding "small farmers to maintain their position, by assisting them to improve their technic and to strengthen the financial and commercial organization of their industries" (Tawney). In this way, new developments in industry will "lead from strength" and the "dexterity, ingenuity, resourcefulness, and, above all, sense of beauty" of the common people will not be sacrificed ruthlessly to the god of modernity. The new forms of industrial organization will "fit into the texture of Chinese society and secure modernization with the minimum of disturbance" to the institutions of the country" (Tayler).

3. The development of rural industries, modern in technic but local in organization, will be aided by the fact of a dense agricultural population. "On the fertile plains, within a radius of a few miles of a marketing center, there is frequently a population of twenty to thirty thousand people—sufficient for an important localized industry" (Tayler). At the same time, the encouragement of small-scale supplementary industries in rural districts may furnish some temporary remedy for the pressure of population.

4. By dovetailing with agriculture, subsidiary industries make it possible for a

farmer to use to good advantage his long periods of idle time. "The farming community in China, except where such subsidiary industries exist, has five or even six months of idle time. (A conservative guess would put the underemployment of those members of the farming families of the nation between the ages of fifty and fifty-four as equivalent to the whole-time unemployment of about fifty-five million people.) . . . These conditions impart an immense vitality to such rural industries as now exist, despite the lack of scientific services and industrial organization in country districts" (Tayler). Such by-industry still plays a larger part than is generally realized among rural communities in Europe.

5. The policy of encouraging small-scale industry thus offers more hope than any other of raising the basic standard of living in rural China. And, since on this standard rests largely the wages of less skilled labor in urban industry, there is offered a hope of increasing by this means the purchasing power of the great mass of the people.

6. If the improvement of old rural industries or the introduction of new can be placed upon a coöperative basis, there will result a more equitable distribution of income than is characteristic within capitalist industry. For the new capital equipment will be put into the hands of workers and they will be assured the full benefit of the increased productivity. Nor are the advantages of rural industry restricted to its economic benefits. If such industry develops actively and along coöperative lines, political and social consequence of considerable significance may be expected to follow.

7. Rural industries are more easily adapted to the present disturbed political condition of the country than are large-scale enterprises requiring heavy invest-

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ment. For local industries can be initiated "under a less degree of political stabilization than would be necessary for more centralized types" (Tayler). Rural industry, in turn, would itself become a stabilizing factor of considerable importance, furnishing employment in crowded rural districts and tending to remove the causes making for communism and banditry.

8. The types of local industrial development contemplated may even do much "to prepare the way for new forms of local administration on a representative basis. They will bring groups of villages together round local centers of trade and so aid in the creation of new rural communities in which the economic and social bases of the new China will largely be laid" (Tayler).

9. Finally, the educative values of such coöperative industry will make of it a part of a cultural movement. The early effects of coöperation in China in awakening the farmer to a new spirit of enterprise are most encouraging. Both personal responsibility and the values of team work are developed by independent or small-group production combined with membership in a larger coöperative association. This has been amply demonstrated in Denmark, France, and Germany. By injecting these elements into the everyday life of a considerable part of the people, coöperative rural industry may make its contribution to the social philosophy—neither capitalism nor communism—after which China is slowly feeling her way.

#### EXPERIMENTATION

Those who have envisioned in this manner the possibilities of rural industry in China have been not only willing but anxious to submit their program to the test of actual experimentation.

Thus there has been founded recently a

North China Industrial Service Union with the avowed aim of studying, experimenting with, encouraging, and promoting small-scale industry in North China. This Union has established a wool training center which has already produced some leaders who now operate wool spinning and weaving businesses of their own in several northern provinces and others who are now conducting, themselves, new training centers. It has investigated the iron resources of Shansi province, introduced cheap yet greatly improved smelting methods, and is now investigating markets for the metal which the farmers in certain districts will soon produce. It has conducted studies of existing local industries—their present condition and the possibilities for improvement and expansion in both manufacture and marketing. In these and other ways this organization has approached its task of adapting modern productive technic and organization to the needs and the limitations of small-scale industry in rural China.

The North China School of Engineering Practice has trained mechanics and engineers who now carry on successfully their own small-scale operations. In the shop-laboratory of this school are manufactured hospital equipment, heating and plumbing supplies, and hardware. It is expected that this organization will co-operate increasingly with the Industrial Service Union to devise cheap and effective tools and machinery for use in rural industries. Educational institutions have also had a part in such beginnings. Nankai University has had in successful operation three small factories of its own where students receive practical training. Yenching University has for a number of years turned out annually a few specialists in the chemistry of leather tanning who now operate tanning concerns in many

parts of China. Graduates of Oberlin-in-Shansi have been producing good pottery.

The list of such organizations could be extended. The industrial work of each represents, to be sure, only a small beginning. But if the leaders in these activities are right in their view of the importance of rural industries in China's changing economy, then these are highly significant and strategic beginnings which may inaugurate for China a new type of industrial revolution.

#### THE POSSIBILITY OF SURVIVAL

Whether or not rural industries are destined to play such a significant rôle in the oncoming modernization of China depends primarily upon the answer of events to one question: Can they survive? Grant the desirability of extending across the plains of China a network of modernized rural industries. Grant the wisdom of building thus upon existing foundations. Grant the tremendous need of the agrarian population for further employment and subsidiary income. Grant, even, that if the movement is successful it will produce a rise in the basic standards of the whole people and an introduction of cultural and political values of incalculable worth to the community. Grant that by this process China would achieve modernization without the social upheaval and distress that would accompany a more precipitate revolution of her industries. The question remains: Would rural industry survive?

The evidence on this point is not altogether hopeful. Professor H. D. Fong of Nankai University has shown that fifteen out of eighteen important rural industries which figure in foreign trade have seriously declined during recent decades. Cotton spinning as a home industry began to feel the competition of

foreign imports about 1890; since the World War, factories in Shanghai, Wusih, and Tientsin have largely supplanted imports as well as home spinning in the Yangtze Valley. Hand spinning of silk has shown a like decline: in 1895 steam filatures accounted for less than 30 per cent of China's raw silk exports; today they account for more than 80 per cent. The sad history in the world market of China's hand-prepared tea is well known: the nation's total tea export is less than a third of what it was in the good old eighties. The growth of metropolitan ports accounts partly but not entirely for the rising imports of paper and flour, which in the last thirty years have increased 1000 per cent; these imports also indicate a successful competition of machine products from abroad with the native small-scale paper and flour-milling industries, resulting in the decline of the latter. Every one who is at all familiar with China trade is aware of how Standard Oil and other petroleum companies have penetrated far into the interior to furnish "oil for the lamps of China," but not every one is cognizant of the manner in which this has uprooted in certain sections the practice of oil-pressing for illumination. Of twelve other rural industries whose products have been notable in foreign trade, nine, Professor Fong discovers, show a definite decline since the turn of the century.

Of course there are other rural industries, which have not figured so prominently in foreign trade, that are by no means crippled as a result of imports and the growth of factories. Examples are not hard to find. Professor Fong mentions a number: mat weaving at Soochow, bean processing along the Lunghai Railway, fruit preserving and ham curing in Chekiang, wool weaving and leather tanning on the North China plain. The

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vitality of such industries where they do exist suggests that some of them will surely survive, as some have survived in the Western hemisphere.

But when this has been said, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the rural industries of China are probably declining. At least it is true that where they have been challenged by the cock of modern industries, there they have usually emerged with feathers plucked.

Does it follow then that this is the inevitable course of events in the future? A casual analysis might suggest that it does. Certainly the competition of foreign countries, especially Japan, for the China market will not abate, and a national government hard-pressed for income with which to meet its obligations will not be likely to cripple its main source of revenue by enacting prohibitive tariffs on important articles of commerce. The competition growing up in the factories of port cities will hardly decline. Both these forms of competition, moreover, will be extended with every improvement in transport which opens further the vast market for inexpensive goods in interior China.

If the superiority of factory production over existing rural industries were due only to the greater efficiency of large-scale machine production, then the outlook for industries in the countryside would indeed be dark. But there are at least two other important factors, *technic* and *marketing*, in which the rural industries have thus far been at a disadvantage. In these respects, it can be maintained, rural industries are capable of great improvement through training, through the introduction of simple machinery, and through coöperative organization.

This leads us to the proposition that there are two groups of rural industries which may be able to survive throughout

a period of growing industrialization. First are those industries which, by improvements in technic and marketing organization, may be able to utilize the low-cost part-time labor of country people and attain a degree of efficiency that will enable them to compete successfully with urban enterprises. Second are those industries which are not likely to be invaded by the methods of large-scale production. Within these two groups there may perhaps be found a number of important lines of manufacture.

#### DISCRIMINATING SELECTION

The possibility of survival for rural industry in China, therefore, is not a question that can be solved with a single sweeping analysis. Certain rural industries, perhaps a large number, will have to go. Some, on the other hand, may never have to face foreign or factory competition. In between lies a range of industries, old and new, in which the capacity for survival is not so readily apparent. In any serious attempt, then, to ascertain the survival capacity of such industries, nothing can take the place of a careful analysis of each type of enterprise, which goes deeper than its immediate prospects. If this is true, what knowledge do we need in order to be able to forecast with any degree of assurance the chances of a rural industry for survival in China's changing economic order? At least four questions, it would seem, should be answered before such a prediction is hazarded for any industry.

First, does the industry as a rural industry possess any distinctive economic advantages? Is it naturally seasonal in character, enabling it to dovetail readily with agriculture? Or does it require a large labor factor in proportion to capital equipment? Or can it secure its raw material cheaply from a local source?

Or are costs of transportation prohibitive for the coming in of competition from without?

Second, is the developing technic of the industry such that in small units it can hope to compete successfully with large-scale machine and power production? There is some tendency to minimize the importance of this question: in isolated rural districts, it is said, a long time may elapse before economic forces from outside are felt; therefore, why not go ahead and develop such industry as is possible in these protected rural areas. But if one accepts the view that it is only a question of time until the penetration of these forces into interior China is felt by the rural people, then it would seem to be a doubtful benefit to confer upon a densely crowded rural community a new reliance upon occupations which in a few years or decades will probably be taken away from them by the inexorable march of economic change.

Third, is the capital required for the efficient operation of the industry within the reach, let us say, of a rural coöperative? For unless rural industry is to be widely subsidized, the surplus resources of any rural district are so small that investment in modernized rural industry must be relatively minute at first, and must grow gradually. Even the coöperatives or other industrial organizations which succeed in inducing a flow of capital from urban

banks will be limited by their capacity to offer security.

And fourth, with improvements in marketing organization and in transport facilities, is it reasonable to suppose that the industry will be able to maintain or increase the sale of its products? In a word, what is the industry's existing and potential market?

The need for such an appraisal of each industry before its chances for survival can be estimated suggests that all of those who are endeavoring to extend to rural China the acknowledged benefits of small-scale industry would do well to employ the utmost discrimination in their selection of specific industries for promotion. Otherwise, the percentage of failures will surely be large. We may assume that such considerations bulk large in the thinking of a number of those now engaged in this type of promotional activity.

How many industries will develop in China and how generally they will become a part of the life of the vast rural community, only the future can tell. But this seems certain: whatever development comes and whatever benefit to China follows will be due in no small measure to the creative and social-minded enterprise of its pioneers, Chinese and Western, and to the way in which their efforts will inspire others to render in this field a distinctive service to the nation.

#### SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK AT OHIO UNIVERSITY

*The following announcement comes from Ohio University's News Bureau:* Ohio University's department of Sociology has a three-fold objective in widening the scope of its social service division for the coming year. Enlargement plans are expected to bring about better placement facilities for graduates, more efficient social service for the Athens County Probate Court, and a better ranking among social service schools. These plans were discussed recently at a conference attended by Dr. Herman G. James, president of Ohio University, Dr. I. E. Ash, head of the department of Sociology at the University, and S. M. Johnson, Judge of the Athens County Probate Court.

Establishment of accredited social agencies in Athens County, the continuation of juvenile delinquency and mothers pension investigation for the Probate Court throughout the entire year, instead of for only nine months, and a new instructor in the department are the primary changes effective on Sept. 23, which is the opening date for the fall term of school.

Dr. Irwin V. Shannon, formerly of the University of Tennessee, is the new director of social service at the University. Efforts are being made to form chapters of the Child Welfare League of America and the National Family Welfare Association in Athens.



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Special Book Reviews by L. L. BERNARD, ERNEST R. GROVES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER,  
RUPERT B. VANCE, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

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## CROSSING THE FRONTIERS OF SCIENCE

ERICH W. ZIMMERMANN

*University of North Carolina*

*THE SCIENCE OF ECONOMY*. By Ludwig Kotany.  
New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1934. 712 pp.  
\$3.50.

*POPULATION THEORIES AND THEIR APPLICATION*. By  
E. F. Penrose. Stanford University, California:  
Food Research Institute, 1934. 347 pp. \$3.50.

*ORES AND INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AMERICA*. By H.

Foster Bain and Thomas Thornton Read. New  
York: Harper and Brothers, 1934. 370 pp.  
\$3.50.

*THE STRATEGY OF RAW MATERIALS*. By Brooks  
Emeny. Statistical assistance by J. Edward Ely.  
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934.  
202 pp. Maps and charts. \$3.00.

At first glance, this list of titles seems to be nothing but a jumble of unrelated topics. Upon further examination, however, they furnish eloquent proof of the organic interrelation of all the sciences which deal with man and his environment. Geographic realities, economic events, social developments, and political phenomena form a single stream which marks the course of civilization.

As one reads the closely packed seven hundred odd pages of Kotany's great legacy—the author died shortly after the book had been published—the reality of the oneness of the social sciences is continuously impressed upon the reader. In Kotany's philosophy it appears that the artificial separation between politics and economics, traceable to the English classical school, far from being a source of strength, is a stumbling block in the way of logical development of economic science. Kotany's early training which he received in the Old World—he took his doctor's degree in mathematics and science at the University of Vienna—may in part be responsible for this attitude. It may, however, have been strengthened by the author's later experiences in the New World as financier and man of affairs.

Kotany's philosophy rests on an interpretation of economic history less novel perhaps in content than in terminology. Kotany divides the story of human progress into four stages marked by cumulative improvements in economy which to him means economy of time. Each successive stage is marked by additional "time escapes." During the first period, described as "collectism," the only "time escape" was that of storing supplies spontaneously produced by nature. The three successive stages come under the general heading of production. Production is first carried on in "anarchist economy," that is by individual families

or other economically self-sufficient groups. A great step forward is made when all producing units which inhabit a given area combine for the sake of defense, thus ushering in the era of "political economy." The most momentous change, however, occurs when, in the final stage, the formerly independent producing units, as a result of division of labor and specialization, develop into a single "system of specialization," the "social economy." Such a system yields remarkable "time escapes" over and above those possible on the lower levels of economic organization, provided the "system of specialization" operates under optimum conditions of size and internal balance.

Traditional economic theory as taught in our textbooks—Marshall's *Principles* is praised as far and above the best—according to Kotany, to a large extent, ignores the implications of the organismic character of "social economy." Adam Smith to Kotany appears as the arch sinner in this respect. His famous saying: "What is prudent in the conduct of every private family, can scarce be folly in that of a great Kingdom" is the overextended analogy *par excellence* from which are derived numerous fallacies of classical economics, above all its internationalism and the theory of free trade. Kotany claims that Smith drew some of his good points from the Cameralists or the *politici*, the very people to whom he attached the derogatory epithet of Mercantilists. Through his attack on the so-called mercantilist fallacies Adam Smith interrupted what otherwise might have been a logical evolution of the science of political economy.

Out of his organismic conception of social economy, Kotany develops his positive theory of protectionism which is in part reminiscent of the teachings of Friederich List and stands closer to the

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ideas of J. M. Keynes, Owen D. Young, and Charles A. Beard, than to those of the rank and file of orthodox economists.

Kotany expresses some interesting views on agriculture. He finds fault with those who view agriculture as an activity essentially different from those of mining, manufacturing, etc. He believes that agriculture should be treated as an ordinary business enterprise. However, he argues that the quality of agricultural time differs from that of astronomical time; the latter, while applicable to most other business enterprises, can not apply to agriculture. Indirectly, the author thus appears to recognize the essential peculiarity of agriculture though he expresses it in his own way, which is characteristic of his entire book, in terms of time.

Much of the discussion is built around the time concept. This novel orientation permits the mathematically trained author to develop some stimulating ideas. Just as Einstein is said to question the existence of a single system of causation, so Kotany emphasizes the individuality of economic phenomena and questions the validity of eternally and universally valid laws. Most so-called economic laws, according to Kotany, are derived through "over-extended analogy" rather than from realistic observation of reality.

Kotany devotes much space to the discussion of scientific methods. He speculates on the nature of a fact, of a number, on the uses of syllogisms, etc. In all these sections the thorough mathematical training of the author stands him in good stead. It would be misleading, however, to overstress the mathematical training of the author, for numerous footnotes reveal an erudition along entirely different lines such as history, sociology, law, anthropology, etc., which is truly remarkable—all the more so as it never degenerates into barren scholasticism.

Many of the ideas of Kotany are so novel that the reviewer finds it difficult to reach a final conclusion as to their merits as real and lasting contributions to economic science. Thus, the basic idea of expressing economics in terms of time upon more critical analysis may lose some of its charm. It is true that to measure economy in terms of labor has many limitations. Whether, however, the substitution of time for labor is the ideal solution or whether, perhaps, we would get farther by rewriting our theory in terms of energy, remains an open question. One-sided emphasis on the economy of time seems to place an undue premium on speed. Basic human wants recur at regular intervals determined by the nature of the human organism. In view of that fact the choice of the time element as the criterion of economy may not prove altogether fortunate.

So far as the organismic interpretation of social economy is concerned, the nature of Kotany's ideas could be appraised more readily if the author had seen fit to devote as much space to the constructive development and elaboration of his own theories as he devoted to the destructive criticism of his adversaries.

In many sections of his book Kotany is thinking of the United States. At one place he implies that at present the United States is probably the only country where his theories of optimum size and balance could be tested. This country happens to be unique in size and variety of resources and may thus be able to afford a larger measure of national self-sufficiency than many others. If we wish to apply the acid test to Kotany's theory with a view to determining the universality of its value we could hardly do better than to ask ourselves how this organismic-nationalistic-protectionistic theory would work out in the case of a country which, in

many respects, represents the very counterpart of the United States—Japan. Kotany's theory stresses the importance of the optimum size and proper internal balance of social economy. Such a balance may appear quite different where seventy million people are crowded on a little island group than it appears on an enormous area richly endowed with natural resources and as yet only thinly populated.

Fortunately, we have an excellent guide to just this kind of comparative study between the United States and Japan. E. F. Penrose, an economist connected with the Food Research Institute of Stanford University, California, backed by the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Social Science Research Council, has furnished us with what is probably the most valuable analysis of the interrelated racial, geographical, social, cultural, political, and economic aspects of the Japanese population problem. His study of Japan is part of a wider study of the economic situation developing out of the transition of Asiatic peoples from local and regional self-sufficiency to national economy. Being under the impression that such studies were retarded by the inadequacy of current population theories, Penrose devotes about one-third of his book to a critical appraisal and constructive development of the traditional population theories.

The author is well prepared to undertake such a task. On the one hand, during years of residence in the Orient he gained more vivid impressions of, and a deeper insight into the Oriental population problem than most occidental observers working in this field possess; on the other hand, Mr. Penrose is thoroughly trained in orthodox economic theory which he skillfully uses as a delicate tool, ever conscious of the limits of pure economic theory and of the interrelation of

all the social sciences. He is fully aware of the fact that the economic and social problems of a great nation cannot be analyzed in terms of price economy alone. Whenever necessary, the author carefully guards his economic reasoning by sociological modifications and is willing to admit that the "other things" which are generally supposed to be equal may invalidate the conclusions of the pure economic theorist.

Most of Part I is devoted to a discussion of the Malthusian theory which, in the eyes of the author, has lost much of its value because the last one hundred years have brought a twofold reversal of former population trends. On the one hand, the industrial arts, awakening from their pristine lethargy, have assumed highly dynamic characteristics and are rapidly increasing man's capacity to produce. On the other hand, man's willingness to reproduce is declining. The result is that Malthusian pessimism appears strangely anachronistic and that the concept of optimum population is holding the center of interest.

Penrose suggests a welfare optimum as an improvement over the more traditional economist's optimum defined in terms of maximum consumers' satisfactions. Penrose differentiates between socially desirable and undesirable consumers' wants. Whether the welfare optimum is reached depends on the extent to which socially desirable consumers' satisfactions are maximized.

Penrose finds that Japan is not suffering from overpopulation, that, as a matter of fact, Japanese standards of living have greatly improved in the last half century. He does find that agricultural conditions are getting progressively worse and suggests increased industrialization and commercialization as the only means that promise lasting results. In this connec-

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tion Penrose takes exception to the general belief that countries inadequately supplied with the basic minerals, coal and iron ore, are precluded from the highest achievements along industrial lines. The increased use of scrap, crude oil and hydroelectricity may for a time at least give increasing weight to the author's claim. Penrose does not believe that Japan stands to gain much from extending her political boundaries. He does not see what advantages military and imperialistic expansion holds out which commercial and financial penetration could not assure more cheaply. One wonders whether this argument against the economic significance of political control would not appeal more readily to Japanese statesmen and politicians if it were applied to areas formerly conquered by Western nations with the same logic with which its application is suggested in the case of territories which have been or are about to be conquered by an Eastern nation. So long as the sinners of the past are unwilling to undo former wrongs their pleading with would-be sinners is apt to be in vain.

It is in the remedies which Penrose suggests for the Japanese situation that the clash between his more orthodox and international economic philosophy and the organismic and nationalistic philosophy of Kotany is most clearly revealed. Penrose believes that world commerce, the freest possible flow of production agents as well as of commodities, holds out the greatest promise for easing the Japanese population pressure. His arguments in defense of his major thesis are most skillful and make most timely reading at this juncture of economic history.

In his discussion of the industrializability of Japan, Penrose, without mentioning names, takes exception to the findings of geologists and mining experts who, in his

opinion, have overstressed the limiting factors of the mineral situation in the Far East. One of the most important books on this subject is Bain's *Ores and Industries in the Far East*. The same author, in collaboration with Professor T. T. Read of Columbia University, has prepared for the Council on Foreign Relations, a most welcome volume on *Ores and Industries in South America*. Written in a pleasing, most readable style, this book goes far to answer many questions about the mineral situation and the industrial possibilities of South America. Two introductory chapters contain a critical discussion of the economic and social significance of mineral resources and a cursory description of the land and people of South America. In the following ten chapters the authors carefully examine the mineral resources and mining enterprises of South America by countries. An additional chapter is devoted to the question of the ownership of the mines of South America. This chapter represents a summary of the findings of W. P. Rawles who, as secretary of the Mineral Inquiry, prepared a general bulletin on *The Nationality of Commercial Control of World Minerals*. In a concluding chapter some tentative answers to the question "What of the Future?" are ventured.

The book is at its best in the more detailed descriptions of several major mining enterprises such as the great Brazilian gold mines of St. John del Rey, of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Company, of Chuquicamata, of the Andes and Braden copper companies of Chile, the tin mines of Patiño in Bolivia, etc. The story of the Chilean nitrate industry is told in vivid fashion including its most recent developments such as the formation and collapse of the "Cosach" and the Caja del Credito Minero.

Throughout the book there occur refer-

ences to history, geography, racial problems, social conditions, which greatly add to both the charm and the value of what might have been a dry, matter-of-fact inquiry into a rather materialistic question. The authors again and again indulge in philosophical discourses on such problems as vested rights and rising nationalism, the curse or blessing of mineral exploitation, etc. On the whole, the reviewer is favorably impressed with the restrained and balanced judgment with which such delicate questions have been treated.

Just as Bain reaches rather pessimistic conclusions as to the industrial possibilities of the Far East, this book warns against unduly optimistic speculation with regard to the economic possibilities of South America. Again and again comparisons are drawn between the situation existing in this country and in South America, driving home both the difficulties which nature has placed in the way of human progress in Latin America as well as the unique opportunities which she offers in the United States.

This last idea is the major theme of Emeny's *The Strategy of Raw Materials*. In this illuminating study prepared under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College, illustrated with a wealth of unusually good charts and diagrams, Dr. Emeny offers conclusive proof of the unique degree of economic self-sufficiency of the United States. He finds that in a national emergency such as a major war, manganese alone, and perhaps also tin and chromite, would offer real problems of procurement. Even these could be solved with a fair degree of satisfaction by means of government control of stocks accumulated during peace time. The recent negotiation of the Brazilian reciprocity treaty in which great emphasis is

placed upon Brazilian manganese shipments to this country bids fair to contribute materially to the solution of this most pressing of our strategic problems.

A permanently valid definition of strategic necessities is impossible. Perhaps tomorrow a newcomer such as magnesium will appear on the list of urgent necessities while other materials vital today will be crossed out. Moreover, in view of the dynamic nature of the industrial arts, a study such as that of Dr. Emeny cannot long remain one hundred per cent authentic. Thus, since the completion of his study considerable progress has been made in recovering iodine from petroleum wastes, promising to remove that commodity from the category of strategic materials procurable only from abroad.

The study shows that the "war potential" of modern nations is little short of their entire peace time potential concentrated on a single immediate objective—the defeat of the enemy. The peace time potential in turn cannot be ascertained by a mere enumeration of production factors. Only a functional study of all the resources and, above all, a functional analysis of their interaction can reveal the necessary facts.

A comparison of the seven great powers as to their relative position in peace and war thus becomes a stupendous undertaking for which this excellent study by Dr. Emeny can do little more than lay the foundation. How does the size of a nation's territory affect the steel requirements during mobilization and war? How does the relative location of coal and ore deposits affect that demand? How does the distribution of energy resources relative to their load centers affect the amount of metal required to harness that energy? These are just a few of the questions which occur to the reviewer as essential parts of a conclusive investiga-

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tion of the relative position of the great powers.

Like the other three books here re-

viewed, Emeny's study goes far to demonstrate the integrity and interrelation of all the social sciences.

## AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY—IN PERSPECTIVE AND CROSS SECTION

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

*Amherst College*

THE FIRST AMERICAN NEUTRALITY. By C. S. Hyneman. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1934. 178 pp.

THE DEMOCRACY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By S. F. Bemis. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1935. 293 pp.

THE UNITED STATES AND NEUTRALITY. By Quincy Wright. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935. 29 pp.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. By P. C. Jessup. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1935. 157 pp.

AMERICAN CONSULTATION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. By R. M. Cooper. New York: Macmillan, 1934. 406 pp.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By J. B. Latane and D. Wainhouse. New York: Doubleday, 1934. 862 pp.

THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA. By H. F. Guggenheim. New York: Macmillan, 1934. 268 pp.

PROBLEMS OF THE NEW CUBA. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1935. 523 pp.

AUTOPSY OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. By D. de Medina. New York: Macmillan, 1934. 357 pp.

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS. By Walter Lippmann and W. O. Scroggs. New York: Harper, 1934. 358 pp.

THE IDEA OF NATIONAL INTEREST. By C. A. Beard. New York: Macmillan, 1934. 583 pp.

AMERICA MUST CHOOSE. By H. A. Wallace. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1934. 33 pp.

ECONOMIC PLANNING AND THE TARIFF. By J. G. Smith. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934. 331 pp.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS. By The Commission of Inquiry. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934. 414 pp.

THE STATE AND ECONOMIC LIFE. By the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (League of Nations). New York: World Peace Foundation, 1934. 422 pp.

TARIFF RETALIATION. By J. M. Jones, Jr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934. 352 pp.

THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM. By C. Foreman. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1934. 13-154 pp.

THE OPEN DOOR AT HOME. By C. A. Beard. New York: Macmillan, 1934. 331 pp.

The study, historical and analytical, of American foreign relations was greatly enriched by the books of 1934. While of course it is impossible to disentangle the skein of economic from political relations in foreign affairs—any more than it is in domestic life and politics—the literature divides itself more or less naturally along this line. When one thinks, however, of the foreign policy of any country, it is the complex of forces, domestic and international, economic, social, psychological, which in the last analysis determine the decisions of responsible statesmen. An action which may seem purely political in its origin and incidence may turn out to have economic roots hidden in the subsoil of interest groups or mass attitudes playing upon foreign policy from quite oblique angles. The discussion of the literature of 1934 under these two rubrics is more a matter of convenience than of substance.

### I

Political relations have been treated from both the historical and contemporary point of view. Dr. Hyneman's *The First American Neutrality* is the most recent and on the whole most thoroughgoing study which has yet been made of the important period from the founding of

the government to the War of 1812 on this most significant aspect of the foreign policy of the period. While he has not introduced any essentially new material, his study does provide a thorough and well documented survey of the attitudes of statesmen and leaders of the business and commercial life of the country.

Professor Samuel Flag Bemis has published the first volume of a two volume study of *The Foundations of American Diplomacy, 1775-1823* under the title *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution*. The present volume brings the account down to the peace settlement of 1783 and in the urbanity of his writing and the thoroughness of his research this volume is reminiscent of his earlier contributions upon the Jay and Pinckney treaties.

Professor Quincy Wright in his *The United States and Neutrality* has sketched in less than 30 pages the present aspect of the problems which confronted our first presidents and secretaries of state. His position, briefly, is that the best insurance for the United States against another war is to be found in a system of international agreements implementing the Pact of Paris through consultation, control of, and publicity regarding the manufacture of trade-in-arms in time of peace and an embargo upon export of arms in the event of a threat of war, and a system of joint embargoes against aggressor states. Essentially the same position has been more elaborately presented by Professor Jessup in his *International Security*. The subtitle "The American Rôle in Collective Action for Peace" indicates his general approach. That this which was the first major problem confronted by this country in its foreign relations is still as exigent—perhaps even more so—as it was a century and a half ago suggests that the contours of this country's foreign policy have not fundamentally changed.

How the implementation of the Pact of Paris might be carried through, and how in four important cases—the Sino-Russian dispute of 1929, the Chaco dispute, the contest between China and Japan over Manchuria, and the Leticia dispute—failure dogged the footsteps of consultation, are well portrayed in Dr. Cooper's *American Consultation in World Affairs*. Not only is this the first thorough-going study of these incidents, but it offers significant evidence of the limitations as well as the possibilities of this procedure.

A second edition of *American Foreign Policy* by the late dean of American scholars in this field has brought the account down from 1927 to 1934. Professor Latane's is the best of the single-volume histories of the political aspects of our foreign relations.

Aside from the question of sanctions and neutrality, one of the outstanding issues is our relations with Latin America. The official policy of the "good neighbor" has been underwritten by a former (and a Republican) Ambassador to Cuba who in his *The United States and Cuba* has not only presented the best brief historical survey of our relations but has made a convincing case for the abrogation of the Platt Amendment—now consummated by the Treaty of 1934. Mr. Guggenheim's volume is an excellent introduction to *Problems of the New Cuba*. This report of the Commission on Cuban Affairs of the Foreign Policy Association, a Commission which included a dozen of the outstanding authorities on Latin American affairs, on special problems such as agriculture, is the most competent and incisive study of colonial government in our history. Since the study was made under independent and non-official patronage, its impartiality and candor were assured. In the future it will perhaps rank with Lord Durham's report on

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Canada as a classical analysis of the results of colonialism and prognosis of its liquidation.

The Monroe Doctrine has long been the principal stumbling block in the Latin American relations of the United States. The complacency of its supporters north of the Rio Grande towards its beneficent purpose and results has of late not been reflected in the attitudes of the supposed beneficiaries. From the Latin American side, *Autopsy of the Monroe Doctrine* presents an "indictment" under a dozen "counts" in terms that are thoroughly documental from the official papers and unofficial writings of North, not South, American statesmen. The author's argument is direct and uncompromising; his position, unequivocal. But he writes with a temperate pen, and seeks to interpret the attitudes of his fellow Latin Americans toward the Monroe Doctrine in the language of the political leaders of this country. No book in English is likely to reveal so well current feeling South of the Rio Grande.

What *The Survey of International Affairs* does for general international relations is accomplished for this country in the annual volume, now under the general editorship of Walter Lippmann and W. O. Scroggs for the Council on Foreign Relations, *The United States in World Affairs*. The volumes appear usually within the first three months of the following year; the series as a whole, now in its eighth year, is an invaluable guide to the current problems of American diplomacy, and should be available for reference in every school and college library.

The outstanding contribution to an understanding of the bases of American foreign policy—in fact the most important work since the volumes of Mahan upon sea power—is *The Idea of National Interest*. In scope and acumen this historical

analysis of the reasons given by official spokesmen, and by pressure groups urging upon the government some specific action, for their pursuit of policy under various rubrics of "national interest"—economic, humanitarian, militarist—is unrivalled. It will remain, if not the final word, certainly the definitive source for a critique of our diplomacy as a function of the attitudes and policies of the dominant "interests" in the domestic scene. Dr. Beard's conclusion that the definition of a "national interest" in foreign policy usually ends up in identifying its idealistic expression with the very tangible self-interest of the group at the moment in a position to influence foreign policy is amply documented and cogently presented in the light of the economic and political issues which he traces in our diplomacy from Washington to Roosevelt.

## II

American economic foreign policy, especially since the London Economic Conference of 1933, has become more overtly nationalistic. The history of the tariff in this country is in effect a history of economic nationalism. Since foreign markets have been more tightly closed against American goods, either for domestic reasons of self-protection or as a means of retaliation against what were for other countries considered as unjustified discriminations in the Hawley-Smoot Tariff, our own "national interest" has been put forward by the industries hitherto sheltered behind our tariff walls as requiring still further economic controls, and prohibitions of imports. Since the World Economic Conference of 1927 the cleavage between the believers in free trade and the practitioners of protection as the formula for world economic revival has widened; the protectionists have almost everywhere had their way in

dictating national policies. But the attack upon protection as an effective working principle of international relations has not subsided, and signs are not wanting, as, for instance, the American program of reciprocal trade treaties, or the addresses made to recent Conferences of the National Foreign Trade Council, that some tentative steps toward at least limited exchange on a basis of mutual agreement are in the offing of practical politics.

The most provocative statement of the case for controlled free trade came from the Secretary of Agriculture, whose *America Must Choose* is undoubtedly the most succinct, forthright, and persuasive statement of the position that has been penned in this country in many a decade. If nothing else were available, this brief but convincing pamphlet—which can be read in less than an hour—would provide the substance for intelligent ideas upon our future trade policy. His position is that American trade can and should be put upon a bargaining basis; the author assumes that mutually advantageous trade on a large scale can be developed without a substantial disturbance of existing domestic production.

What the author describes as his "Answer to the challenge of (Mr. Wallace's) pamphlet" is persuasively put in Professor Smith's *Economic Planning and the Tariff* which argues for a gradually decontrolled trade policy which would free trade so as to insure the lowest cost of the consumer. This forthright free trade argument is strongly supported in *International Economic Relations*, the report of the Commission of Inquiry into National Policy in International Economic Relations. This independent commission headed by President Hutchins of Chicago, after hearings in all parts of the country, recommended as rapid a return as possible

to revenue tariffs and a policy of reciprocal trade agreements, not as a substitute therefor, but as a means of immediate "enlargement not diversion" of trade. And the international consensus of opinion, as expressed by representatives of many countries, large and small, at the international conference upon *The State and Economic Life*, is in the same direction—freer trade and the elimination of discriminatory and retaliatory practices.

What the reaction of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff actually was upon our exports—from automobiles to washing machines—has been pitilessly examined in Professor Jones' *Tariff Retaliation*. The loss of trade in various countries was enough to wipe out a good deal of domestic production beside, through the disorganization of many plants, and reduced purchasing power at home; and the whole process of retaliation only exacerbated the relations, political as well as economic, between this country and more than a dozen others. The author's solution—a return to a conditional most-favored-nation trade basis—is in substantial accord with those who look to a revival of international trade as the spur to recovery.

But there is another point of view: *The New Internationalism* as Mr. Foreman has described the policies of self-containment forged by the major countries—looking toward economic nationalism, often buttressed by political autocracy—means a frank abandonment of free trade and an equally frank acceptance of the implications of economic isolation and government control and direction of trade.

Such a policy for the United States has been brilliantly elaborated by Dr. Beard in *The Open Door at Home*. It has rightly been called the single best volume on the New Deal. It is more; it is the most comprehensive essay in a national policy—perhaps since Hamilton's State Papers.

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This book is a veritable manual of statecraft, in terms of an America capable of balancing production to domestic consumption. In such an equation, foreign trade plays an important but not a decisive part; Dr. Beard would be willing to abandon the search for markets if a domestic equilibrium could be struck. No other volume so competently and so persuasively presents the logic of a self-contained—but a more intelligently planned—America. For it, Dr. Beard's contention, well buttressed by the facts he presents, that an economy planned to provide a decent standard of living for

all—through the utilization of domestic natural resources and technological efficiency on a schedule of production for ascertained needs rather than for hoped-for but uncontrolled profits—is possible "at home." A search for markets too easily may become a will o' the wisp to lure us from the articulation of a program for "the general welfare" to one which in part benefits only the few. No one who pretends to an opinion about "the shape of things to come" can neglect the author's incisive analysis of the elements of the problems which confront us at home as well as abroad.

### MENTAL HYGIENE

ERNEST R. GROVES

*University of North Carolina*

MODERN CLINICAL PSYCHIATRY. By Arthur P. Noyes. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1934. 485 pp.

HANDEDNESS: RIGHT AND LEFT. By Ira S. Wile. Boston: Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Company, 1934. 439 pp. \$2.75.

MIND, SELF AND SOCIETY. By George H. Mead. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 401 pp. \$5.00.

THE PROBLEM OF MENTAL DISORDER. Madison Bentley, Editor. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934. 388 pp.

MENTAL HEALTH: ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE. By Frank E. Howard and Frederick L. Patry. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935. 551 pp. \$2.75.

MAKING OUR MINDS BEHAVE. By William S. Walsh. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1935. 277 pp.

BUILDING PERSONALITY. By A. Gordon. New York: The John Day Company, 1934. 303 pp.

HUMAN PERSONALITY AND THE ENVIRONMENT. By Charles Macfie Campbell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934. 252 pp. \$3.00.

Every sociologist, whatever his specialty, needs at times a systematic presentation of the present teaching of psychiatric science. *Modern Clinical Psychiatry* by Noyes meets this need splendidly. The

book aims "to present and apply some of the more generally accepted theories of psychopathology that exist in making behavior psychologically understandable" (p. 12), and it succeeds. The book is clear, authoritative, balanced, and delightfully readable. In a field of science where the task of the interpreter is extraordinarily difficult, the author has carried out his task skillfully and convincingly. The sociologist will be especially attracted to Chapter II, "Psychic Energy and the Dynamics of Behavior." The author defines psychic energy "as the sum of the vital energy that motivates the life adjustments of the individual" (p. 28). This energy is derived from instincts or is directed by them, and it is the function of consciousness to select and inhibit and only to a small degree to create (p. 29). The emotion is regarded as a feeling-tone that stimulates or facilitates some instinctive tendency, or as the subjective aspect of instinct experience when instinctive behavior is obstructed (p. 31).

*Handedness: Right and Left* is an unusual

book. The title gives no suggestion of its thoroughness, latitude, or its appeal to the student of social science. It is an exhaustive treatment of the problem of right- and left-hand preference; it gathers cream from an enormous literature. The sociologist will be especially attracted by the following chapters: II, "The Hand Preferences of Primitive Man"; III, "Philology and Hands"; IX, "Religion and Hand Symbolism." The discussion ends with a petition written by Benjamin Franklin, signed "The Left Hand," to those who have the superintendency of education—a bit of good sense, which, unfortunately, still needs to be pondered by some educators and parents.

Students of George H. Mead, whether they have known him in the class work or from his writing, will welcome *Mind, Self and Society*. This book presents Dr. Mead's system of social psychology built on behaviorism. Since Dr. Mead never brought together in one treatment his social analyses, this book is the most complete of his contributions. It has been largely made from stenographic records taken down verbatim in various courses and rather full notes made at a later time by a discerning student. The material is classified under four headings: The Point of View of Social Behaviorism, Mind, The Self, and Society. The following provides a glimpse into his system: "The self thus arises in the development of the behavior of the social form that is capable of taking the attitude of others involved in the same coöperative activity. The pre-condition of such behavior is the development of the nervous system which enables the individual to take the attitude of the others. He could not, of course, take the indefinite number of attitudes of others, even if all the nerve paths were present, if there were not an organized social activity going on such that the

action of one may reproduce the action of an indefinite number of others doing the same thing. Given, however, such an organized activity, one can take the attitude of anyone in the group" (p. 335).

*The Problem of Mental Disorder* is the result of a study undertaken by the Committee on Psychiatric Investigation of the National Research Council. It is a book of wide range with each specialized topic written by an acknowledged expert. It will provide a fund of information for the sociologist.

*Mental Health* presents the principles and practices of mental hygiene with emphasis on the treatment of mental deviations and is greatly influenced by the work of Adolph Meyer to whom the book is dedicated. Interesting and practical, it is strengthened by considerable illustrative case material and an unusually full glossary of technical terms.

*Making Our Minds Behave* is a briefer, more popular discussion of common problems of human experience in which the author weaves together common sense and mental hygiene principles. The book is both helpful and interesting.

*Building Personality* is a more pretentious attempt to define and explain the personality. The author offers to guide the reader through the confusion of conflicting schools of psychology and bring him to the right path of self understanding. Dr. Melvin is optimistic in his confidence that psychology can become the means of good adjustment to life. "The day must come when the maturing individual may look ahead five years into his own psychological development and prepare for the advancing symptoms of maturity. He must look into his own and into other lives and prophesy personality. Psychological maladjustment must be forecast and avoided" (p. 292).

*Human Personality and the Environment*

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is a product of lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute at Boston. The author emphasizes the meaning, the content, the expression and the motives of personality. The psychiatric approach dominates. The

book is adapted to the needs of the lay reader. It suggests the years of experience and human sympathy which make Dr. Campbell especially fitted to explore the psychiatric aspects of human nature.

### LIGHT FROM THE NEAR EAST

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

*Columbia University*

A CONTROLLED EXPERIMENT ON RURAL HYGIENE IN SYRIA. By Stuart C. Dodd. Beirut, Lebanon Republic: American University of Beirut Press, 1934. 336 pp. (Also available from Near East College Association, 50 West 50th St., New York City). \$3.00.

I regard this work as one of the finest sociological monographs which has appeared up to the present time. In its own particular field, namely, the technique of measuring social change, it is beyond question superior to anything heretofore published. To one who has had occasion recently to declare that the entire literature of social surveys, including his own contributions to that subject, is of very minor scientific significance, it is a great pleasure to come upon, in this unpretentious volume, a model of what a scientific piece of work in this field should be. The full merits of the book can be realized only through careful study of it. But I shall call attention to the two main grounds upon which I accord it the above high estimate, namely, (1) the rigor of its scientific procedure and results and (2) its contribution to a phase of fundamental sociological theory.

The problem which Professor Dodd undertook was to measure the hygienic status of the population of certain Syrian villages and the change in that status over a period of years. That purpose is stated in the first paragraph. The author then proceeds to define precisely all the

units and terms to be employed in the achievement of his purpose. He next addresses himself to the problem of constructing a scale with which to measure hygienic status. The theoretical specifications of such a scale with respect to validity, reliability, and practical administration are first discussed with a detail and a lucidity and yet with a brevity that it would be impossible to improve upon. A trial schedule is then prepared and rigidly tested on all the points stated in the theoretical specifications. In addition to the usual test of sampling error, the schedule is tested for seasonal error, for reliability of the informant, reliability of the interviewer, error in scoring, ambiguity of the schedule itself, objectivity and quantitateness of the questions, and the ease and simplicity of the administration of the schedule.

It is impossible to give an adequate account of the ingenuity, perseverance, and meticulous care with which the schedules and scales were constructed and revised to conform to the requirements of a scientific instrument. Anyone interested in techniques and methods of sociological study will find here a fascinating story of weeks spent in villages of Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, and Persia to gain first hand cultural background; the painstaking formulation of lists of items, patterns, practice, or environment probably related to health; the preparation of a trial list

of questions on these subjects; the thorough criticism of this list by clinic physicians and nurses as well as by others; the trial of the schedule in the field and resulting revisions. From this process there emerged the first complete form, a schedule of 270 questions with approximately 2,000 possible answers for checking. A detailed manual of instructions for interviewing with this schedule was also prepared. It was then administered to 345 families in order to gain data for still further improvement of the instrument. Frequency graphs for the scores of each of the 270 questions for each of six sample populations were then studied to locate ambiguous and subjective questions, and other defects in the schedule, as well as for characteristics of the populations to be studied and the reliability of the procedure in general. On the basis of this experience and these data, subjected to the most searching analysis, the final schedule, abbreviated and corrected for all the defects of the first, was finally formulated. In short, no pains were spared to make the instrument as perfect as possible under the circumstances; to measure the unreliabilities which remained; and, finally, to report every step in the process. The full description of this procedure will stand for a long time as a brilliant example of scientific technique in sociology.

As a piece of scientific reporting alone the book is notable. I do not recall having encountered in the whole literature of social research a superior account of *exactly what was done, the results achieved, and a full exhibit of the instruments used*. Sociologists will do well to consider the book from this point of view alone. Those who have been urged by their university presses to eliminate even the more important statistical material and who have been compelled to exclude entirely an adequate methodological ac-

count, thus violating the most elementary and fundamental scientific requirement, will appreciate the unusual character of Dodd's work from this point of view alone.

While the methodological significance of this book is of far greater importance than any contribution to the knowledge of contemporary hygiene in the Near East could possibly be, the author never allows himself to become so fascinated by methodological considerations as to forget his practical objectives. As a result, we have here also an excellent account of one of the culture complexes of Syria. I hasten to reassure those who have been discouraged by my emphasis upon the scientific aspects of the work that there is also a score of excellent photographs and much juicy "case" material. The important difference between Professor Dodd's use of this material and its current use in surveys is that Dodd is fully aware of the purely illustrative and entertainment value of the episodes portrayed and at no time confuses them with his scientific data or makes random incidents the basis of his conclusions. This "warm," "human," "interesting," "readable" material is always kept in its proper place with reference to the rigorous requirements of scientific methods. When used in this way such material is, of course, very valuable. But too often a serious study is so deflected and diluted by a desire to cater to tabloid tastes as to destroy its scientific value. Journalists, novelists, and other sociological clairvoyants who are all too frequently scientifically illiterate are still regarded as proper reviewers and critics of sociological monographs. Their lamentations about "worlds on paper," "encountering no human beings," and the failure of sociological writings to conform to the stereotypes of contemporary cartoons, are taken quite seriously and are not infrequently used by soci-

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ologists themselves as legitimate sociological criteria. Obscurity should never be confused with profundity, but neither should scientific rigor be sacrificed to popularization. There is no more reason why a scientific treatise on sociology should be pleasant Sunday afternoon reading for the scientifically illiterate than that a work on physiology or chemistry should appeal to the lay public. In this respect again, Professor Dodd's treatise is a fine example. It is a marvel of lucidity and coherence on its own level. But it makes no cheap compromises with tabloid journalism in either style or content. It is a brilliant illustration, also, of how a statistical approach results in the only type of insight into a culture complex which is of any scientific significance.

To those who regard the field of social measurement as but a naïve and passing aberration, even the high quality of the work under review will seem of little sociological importance. To those who believe that a large part of future sociological research must consist of a painstaking scientific check of the generalizations which today fill the Introductions to Sociology, Dodd's book will be an encouragement. It may be that a hundred years from now sociology will still be nothing more than a formidable collection of droll stories, impressionistic generalizations, and windy dialectics. On the other hand, it may be that we shall then have a substantial set of generalizations the probability of which, under given conditions, can be stated with some mathematical accuracy and reliability, as must be the case in every true science. Professor Dodd's volume proceeds on the latter assumption. It demonstrates a type of scholarship which does not rest entirely upon the ponderousness and antiquity of his bibliography, and which is

as yet not very common in sociology. Nor will the customary charge that studies of this kind neglect the theoretical side apply to Dodd's work. "The Theory of the Measurement of Social Forces" submitted in the Concluding Part (Part IV) is one of the ablest and most stimulating treatises that has yet appeared on the subject. Briefly, there is here submitted a logical theory for the reduction of the concept of social forces *to an equation based on measured entities*.

I have touched here on only a few of the original and ingenious features of this unusual and excellent monograph. Nor is a more detailed account necessary, for the intrinsic merits of the book will sooner or later compel recognition. In so important a work, however, even minor flaws in the way of misprints must be noted: The correlation coefficient in the second paragraph on page 73 should be  $-.30$  instead of  $+.30$ . The formula at the bottom of page 210 should read

$$A_{I-IV} = \frac{\frac{S_{IV} - S_{III}}{Y_{IV-III}} - \frac{S_{II} - S_I}{Y_{II-I}}}{.5 Y_{(IV-III-II-I)}}$$

In addition to these minor and self-evident slips, an inferior job in book manufacturing must be noted with regret. But these flaws shrink to insignificance when the extraordinarily high quality of the work as a whole is considered. No student or teacher of research methods can afford to neglect this model monograph.

DYNAMICS OF POPULATION. By Frank Lorimer and Frederick Osborn. New York: Macmillan, 1934. 461 pp. Tables, charts, and graphs. \$4.00.

If there are still those who believe that population problems are dry subjects, deserving of little concern outside of academic circles, this book should do much to thin their ranks. Of more importance than the engrossing manner

in which the subjects are dealt with, is the soundness of the work. Much of the so-called research in population, and especially in eugenics, is nothing more than the biased results of ethnic-egoists, uplifters, and preconceivers of what their investigations will show. *Dynamics of Population* reflects in every detail the bent of mind of the true scientist.

The authors first call attention to the fact that population growth is coming to a halt in this country. New lands and phenomenal expansion of industry are by-gone incentives for immigration. By legislative action, immigration has been practically stopped; with increasing urbanization of the population, birth rates within the country have dropped rapidly. Today the number of births exceeds the number of deaths only because we still have an undue proportion of women of child-bearing age, as a legacy from the preceding generation of unrestricted immigration and high birth rates. As the generation gets older, and in the near future, the present margin between births and deaths will disappear. For the first time in our history the last census reported fewer children under five years of age than at the time of the previous decennial enumeration.

The authors point out the present situation and trends with respect to reproductive rates in communities of different size. The farm and small village white populations are reproducing at rates above those necessary for replacement, but urban places 2,500 to 25,000 are barely reproducing their numbers, and births in larger cities fall short of replacement needs. Chapters are also devoted to racial and regional differences in fertility and to the probable genetic and cultural significance of such variations.

The next topic, and one of deep concern to the authors, is that of variations in

reproduction rates among broad occupational groups. From several sources, including their own inductive analyses of census material, the authors present evidence that high birth rates prevail in "lower" occupational classes and that those of professional and white collar workers in urban centers are too low for replacement. In their quest for facts pertaining to the significance of the foregoing group-differences in fertility, the authors have carefully studied and evaluated specialized studies in the fields of biology, psychology, anthropology, economics, and sociology. An illustration of their careful interpretation of such studies may be given. Several independent studies point consistently to the lowering of average intelligence scores with lowering of social class. The authors point out the limitations of the intelligence test. We know little about the relative importance of inborn capacities and acquired knowledge in the ability to make a high score in an intelligence test. The age-old issue of heredity versus environment is not of first consequence, however. Even if hereditary factors are altogether absent in social class differences as shown in intelligence test scores, it stands to reason that at least the social heritage of the next generation will be greatly affected by the characteristics of the classes from which it is largely recruited. Insofar as hereditary factors are involved, the problem runs deeper and is of more lasting consequence.

Widely different sources are used for a systematic treatment of the factors underlying present tendencies in human fertility. The physical and medical factors which operate as automatic or involuntary conditioners of fertility are first disposed of. These include sterility, limited capacity to bear children, and age at marriage. Next are discussed the broad factors conducive

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to voluntary limitation of children, such as health considerations, standard of living, local environment and housing, gainful occupations of women, religion, and education.

The final chapters are devoted to the possibilities of social control through intelligent population policies. Such possibilities, the writers think, may be in the development of wholesome life in rural areas for here will continue to be the country's chief population nursery ground. Slum clearance and city planning, conditions affecting marriage, the adjustments of women's gainful occupations to maternity, conditions affecting the economic security of young couples, conditions affecting contraception and sterilization, conditions affecting immigration, race relations and social attitudes are discussed as worthy of much consideration in intelligent direction of population change. In a concluding remark the authors state:

Perhaps the most striking result of this investigation has been its revelation of the dynamic character of present population changes in the United States, and a sense of the complexity and weight of the social consequences resulting from these changes. Present population trends are tending to create a serious economic imbalance between agriculture and industry, and perhaps between some other groups in our economic structure. There is an apparent very gradual but by no means negligible drift toward undermining our most precious inheritance, the capacity for high intelligence. Very certainly there is a strong force at work that runs exactly counter in its effects on social environment to our conscious educational efforts. And yet this whole set of forces, perhaps second in social importance only to the need for a more stable and equitable economic order, has remained largely neglected by social scientists.

The volume is by no means a mere collection or classification of findings by students in the various disciplines. Throughout, the authors have displayed much industry and objectivity in their handling of specialized studies. They indicate what seems to them the logical

significance of a study, careful always to point out the bias or limitations involved. In dealing with questions such as racial differences, and issues which have ever been deeply imbedded in the prejudices and wishful thinking of man, the authors reveal no axe to grind other than that of insatiable curiosity.

Intelligent laymen need have no fear that this book is too technical. Students will find it an invaluable storehouse of results from up-to-date studies. There is an excellent appendix containing a statement of the methods employed in the work, more detailed tables than those offered in the text, and a glossary of technical terms. The bibliography of almost forty pages is conveniently arranged by chapter topics. The book is competently indexed by author and by subject.

CLYDE V. KISER.

*Milbank Memorial Fund.*

INTERNAL MIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By C. Warren Thornthwaite. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934. 52 pp. 9 plates. \$1.00.

In the past, the study of population in the United States has been confined largely to the phenomena of growth, composition, and foreign immigration. This valuable little study focuses attention on an important but neglected aspect of population study, namely internal migration. Utilizing such materials as the state-of-birth data and age-groups data of the Census, vital statistics of certain registration areas, and the school census records and school transfers of Oklahoma, it demonstrates the statistical possibility of study of some of the important trends in interstate and intrastate migrations. Granted certain limitations of the data used, limitations that are recognized and noted by the author, the results picture

with considerable clarity the broader movements and require little comment or explanation.

The presentation of the results is almost wholly by means of maps, and the techniques used are contributions to cartographic practice. It is customary to frown upon the use of three dimensional figures to illustrate quantitative difference. However, the maps drawn for this study demonstrate that there are problems that can be conveniently handled in this manner and that with skill the use of volumetric magnitudes can be made to give very effective and accurate results.

The conclusions drawn are not new or startling. In fact, they are for the most part refined and precise ways of stating what was already known in a general way. Given these refinements in measuring so nebulous a matter as migration, we should be able to discover individual deviations from the broader tendencies to enrich our knowledge of the causal factors of migration and to determine intelligently a public policy in guiding population movements.

RALPH CARR FLETCHER.

*Bureau of Social Research,  
Federation of Social Agencies,  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.*

CAPITALISM AND ITS CULTURE. By Jerome Davis.  
New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 556 pp. \$2.25.

This book is the vehicle for a convincing indictment of the existing economic order. It is apparently based upon the authors' scrapbook of the happenings of recent years which reflect the rotten core of a civilization with a rather flashy exterior. It makes very interesting reading, and it should have considerable influence in further undermining faith in capitalism.

After a cursory but penetrating description of the characteristics of capitalism and of the case for it, Mr. Davis proceeds

to examine its philosophical basis. He realizes that "vested habits of thought are the most dangerous forms of vested interest" and concludes that "from an ethical standpoint any philosophy frankly based on profit and selfish acquisition" cannot be expected to produce a decent human society.

In describing the processes of capitalism, Part II, Mr. Davis rightly emphasizes the motives of capitalist control. They are shown to be thoroughly selfish class motives, and the consequence is that neither the largest possible volume of goods nor the socially most needed goods are produced. From the point of view of the capitalist, the utilization of resources is a game—a skin game with loaded dice through which they grasp for themselves as large a share of the world's resources and goods as they can. They use any method that will get results. He makes it appear that if a society deliberately tried to construct an economic order that would waste resources, cause untold human suffering, produce large quantities of illth, and make shysters of men, it certainly would build capitalism. Furthermore, the very nature of capitalist financing makes the effective use of a machine technology impossible because it tends to make scarcity rather than abundance appear desirable.

Since economic activity is such an important part of all human activity, a capitalist order may be expected to permeate and color the whole civilization. In describing the products of capitalism, Part III, Mr. Davis finds this to be true. To satisfy their greed and maintain their supremacy, capitalists simply sack our civilization. Recreation becomes malcreation, community life breeds unhappiness and crime, while the press, the radio, education, and religion are prostituted in the interests of the capitalist



class. The State is a tool used for exploitation by capitalists rather than an agency used to promote the general welfare. Capitalism, in short, produces a class society rather than a democracy and the farmers and workers become the mudsills upon which the economic system rests and rests heavily.

Will capitalism survive? Mr. Davis hopes for its early demise but, while expressing faith in the capacity of human beings to build a better economic order, he is in doubt about the immediate future. In the final chapter he poses nicely the questions which intrigue all social theorists—Since capitalism "affects every phase of human life," must change come first in the economic order or in the whole cultural background? If capitalists are so all-powerful in our civilization, how will it be possible to break their hold? Is not a new feudalism more likely than the creation of a thoroughly democratic society? Mr. Davis is not certain of the answers. He believes, however, that the mass can do anything it collectively wishes to do and he is certain that economic orders do change and not always in the direction of social stratification.

JAMES GILBERT EVANS.

*University of North Carolina.*

RED MEDICINE: SOCIALIZED HEALTH IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By Sir Arthur Newsholme and John Adams Kingsbury. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1933. 324 pp. \$2.50.

The Milbank Fund enlisted the services of Sir Arthur Newsholme in an international survey of medical practice. His survey in three volumes was published in 1931 and was followed in 1932 by his *Medicine and the State*, containing a discussion of general problems, tendencies, and lines of future development. Russia being omitted from the earlier survey, the authors of *Red Medicine*, under the auspices

of the same Fund, made a hurried trip through that country in the late summer of 1932. The result is a highly entertaining and instructive but almost wholly impressionistic survey. In about five weeks they traveled 9000 miles, many of them by boat, interviewed numerous officials through interpreters and then wrote a book based largely, so far as its factual data are concerned, on books and articles available in any good library. The authors admit they have presented a bright picture. Their tone is definitely propagandist at times; the Russian wonderland evidently stirred their imaginations and exalted their emotions.

Nevertheless, any one who has an interest in Russia's experiment as a whole, in her public health program, or in the general problem of how to provide adequate health protection for a modern society will find the volume well worth reading. It is a first-rate travelogue, very well written, giving bold vignettes of nearly every aspect of the Russian experiment, the farms, factories, marriage, abortions, creches, schools and playgrounds, social insurance, as well as the organization and practice of medicine. In this latter respect the present government has made truly great progress, and seems to have only fairly gotten under way. The authors clearly perceive that Russia has laid a more adequate basis for up-to-date public health than any western nation; also, that we have arrived at a stage in cultural development when medical services must be provided on a sound basis for all, regardless of ability to pay. In Chapters XXII and XXIII they set forth the principles and standards governing the problem of complete health service, and the alternative methods, charity, insurance and taxation, whereby it can be provided. It seems not improbable that, in another decade or two,

the chief challenge of Russia will be, not that it has attained a notable industrial efficiency, but that it has provided the multitude with a larger measure of health and happiness than is their lot in the richer capitalist societies.

FRANK H. HANKINS.

*Smith College.*

THE FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR FAMILY IN POLITICS.  
2 vols. By William Ernest Smith. New York:  
Macmillan, 1933. 516, 523 pp. \$7.50.

For sixty years the Blairs, Francis Preston, Montgomery, and Francis Preston, Jr., were important and influential leaders not only in state politics but also in national affairs. Professor Smith says that the Blairs rank second only to the Adams family in their political influence on the course of American history. Beginning his political career in Kentucky as a supporter of Clay, the elder Blair moved to Washington and as editor of *The Globe* greatly influenced the policies of the Jackson administration after Duff Green, with his *United States Telegraph*, cast his lot with the Calhoun, or Southern, wing of the Democratic party. Falling from favor during the Polk administration, Blair led his family first into the Free Soil party in 1848 and then into the Republican party in the eighteen-fifties.

The two sons, Montgomery and Frank, began to play their parts in Missouri politics in the eighteen-forties. They attained prominence as lawyers and took an active part in the discussion of the sectional controversy of the fifties. The Lincoln administration rewarded the Blairs for their services to the Republican party by appointing Montgomery Postmaster General, and he contributed much to the reorganization of the postal service. But more important, Blair was a powerful factor in the Lincoln program to preserve

the Union. Frank Blair, too, made a notable record as a wartime Congressman and as a distinguished general in the United States army. The war being over, the Blairs threw in their lot with the moderates and opposed the extreme measures of the Radical Republicans. Supporting Johnson they were ultimately forced out of the party by the Radicals. They returned to the Democratic party and Frank became the candidate of the Democratic party for Vice President in 1868 and a United States Senator in 1871, while Montgomery was twice an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress. The Blairs supported the Liberal Republican movement in 1872 but continued in the Democratic organization to the end. The Blairs seem to have consulted each other on every move and always acted as a unit in their political activities.

The story outlined above is told in great detail by the author. In fact a major defect of the work is the inclusion of too much detail and well known general political history, which the author feels must be supported by references, even to college text books. Many minor errors have found their way into this mass of details. Typical is the misspelling of Justice Story's name (I:36) and the reference to a Jackson Presidential levee which the author dates "1920-31" (I:73). Then too, there is an inconsistency in the spelling of names and the citation of works. Thus we find Durbarrow (I:14) but Dubarrow (I:18); and Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (I:73) but *Thirty Years View* (I:301), and the same error in the use of King's Mountain (I:17, 21). The second volume is in decided contrast to the first in the matter of such errors. The account of Douglas (I:274) is distinctly unfair to that statesman. The vacillating policy of *The Globe* on the Texas issue, and in fact the shifting of the

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Blairs generally, is not satisfactorily explained. Herein is the chief weakness of the book: namely, the author interprets the Blairs from their own viewpoint rather than that of a balanced and detached historian.

In spite of the defects noted, *The Blair Family* is an important contribution to American political history. There is nothing revealed which will cause any revolutionary revision in the interpretation of American history, but there is brought to light an enormous amount of information which supplements our knowledge of the period and modifies accepted interpretations. The work is based upon published sources, newspapers, and manuscript collections. Most important of the latter are the Blair papers, never before available to the historian, which Professor Smith has used largely in his estimate of the Blairs and their place in history.

FLETCHER M. GREEN.

*Emory University.*

WHITE SPIRITUALS IN THE SOUTHERN UPLANDS. By George Pullen Jackson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. 444 pp. \$4.50.

Students of folk culture and regional sociology should be grateful to Professor Jackson for this detailed study of a phase of American culture which is little known to the world of scholarship. Professor Jackson is neither sociologist nor anthropologist, but a musician and a teacher of German at Vanderbilt University. For years his hobby has been to collect the old shape-note hymnals and to follow the doings of the rural shape-note singers—the "fasola" and "dorayme" folks, as he calls them. The result is this very thorough and entertaining book.

The contents of the thirty-four chapters can barely be hinted at in this brief review. There are notes on the origin and spread

of the shape-note method of musical notation; sketches of the leading composers and publishers among these "fasola" and "dorayme" folk; descriptions of singing conventions, Holy Roller meetings; discussions of conflicts between advocates of different types of notation; and, most important of all, of course, an extended analysis of the songs themselves. Professor Jackson delves into the sources of texts and tunes and shows how the Scotch-Irish secular strain has persisted in these white spirituals of the Southern upland folk.

Those who are interested in the relation of Negro and white culture will find this book especially stimulating. While most sociologists have recognized the fact that the assimilation of white culture by the Negro has gone far, most of them have accepted uncritically the dictum of those folk song students who have declared the Negro spiritual to be a unique and distinctive Negro contribution to our folk music. Newman I. White showed in his *American Negro Folksongs* (1928) that the texts of Negro spirituals are heavily indebted to white sources. In my *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island* (1930) I attacked the problem of the relation of the spiritual tunes, scales, intervals, etc., to white folk music. I showed that, except for certain rhythmic traits, Negro spiritual tunes are cast in the same mold as white religious folk songs and that a goodly number of them are actually borrowed *in toto* from the white tunes. Dr. Jackson, approaching from the side of the white man's spirituals, had independently reached the same conclusion, and his chapters on the Negro spiritual are so richly documented with examples of Negro borrowing that he can be said to have removed all doubt as to the indebtedness of Negro religious music to white music. It was the ignorance of the exis-

tence of this great body of white religious songs that made it possible for musicians like the late Henry E. Krehbiel to conclude that there was no need to look to white sources for the origin of the Negro spiritual.

The book is written in an easy conversational style, yet it is thoroughly documented and footnoted. It is copiously illustrated and attractively printed.

GUY B. JOHNSON.

*University of North Carolina.*

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## A NEW SOUTHERN QUARTERLY

*The Southern Review*, published quarterly at the Louisiana State University under the able editorship of Dean Charles W. Pipkin, made its initial appearance in June. According to the editors, *The Southern Review* "envisages a national audience. In its critique of modern thought and modern letters it will not confine its interests to a sectional program. It will draw its contributors, not only from the South, but from other sections of this country and from abroad." Among its features are fiction, poetry, essays, reviews. Among the more than two score contributors, the first number carried such names as Ford Madox Ford, Herbert Agar, Donald Davidson, Aldous Huxley, John Donald Wade, Katherine Anne Porter, John Gould Fletcher, Rupert B. Vance.